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Algeria	6.00 Dz.	Israel	15,120.00 N.M.
Austria	.30 S.	Iraq	1,700 L.
Bahrain	.600 Dz.	Jordan	450 P.
Belgium	.45 D.	Lebanon	2,000 G.
Canada	1.50 D.	Kenya	500 P.
Cambodia	1.00 D.	China	100,000 P.
Cyprus	.500 D.	Colombia	500 P.
Denmark	.600 Dz.	South Africa	.025 R.
Egypt	.175 D.	Spain	110 P.
Egypt	.175 D.	Egypt	7,200 S.
Finland	.700 F.	Iceland	400 S.
France	.500 D.	Malta	100 P.
Germany	.250 D.	Turkey	1,000,000
Great Britain	.50 D.	U.S.A.	.50 D.
Greece	.100 D.	Netherlands	.275 P.
Iran	.115 R.	U.S. M.	.50 D.
Italy	.170 P.	Yugoslavia	.240 D.

ESTABLISHED 1887



Red Cross workers labor to free a survivor from the mud covering Armero, Colombia.

## Colombian Town Abandoned; Volcano Toll Grows to 25,000

Reuters

ARMERO, Colombia — Helicopters began evacuating rescue workers Sunday from Armero, as hope was abandoned of finding more trapped survivors of the volcanic eruption last week that killed an estimated 25,000 people and

buried this town under a river of mud.

Firefighters began burning bodies Sunday and dumping others into mass graves to diminish the threat of disease, and the Colombian government declared the area consecrated ground, thereby con-

verting it into a vast cemetery.

The Colombian health minister, Rafael De Zubiria Gómez, said Saturday that at least 21,559 people had died or were missing in Armero, giving the first official toll of the disaster. Other officials said that more than 25,000 people, including 8,000 children, had been killed and 25,000 left homeless and that at least 2,453 had been injured.

Six more survivors were pulled from the sea of mud at Armero on Sunday before rescuers gave up hope of finding more.

On the first helicopter out Sunday morning was Omynda Medina, 20, who spent nearly three days submerged in mud up to her neck, entwined with the body of her dead husband, before rescuers finally freed her late Saturday night.

Helicopter rescue teams, flying Sunday over the sea of mud that swamped the mountain valleys beneath the Nevado del Ruiz volcano on Wednesday, concentrated on seeking refugees marooned on high ground.

The government said the lives of 227,000 residents in seven Andean valleys had been disrupted by one of the worst natural calamities in the Western Hemisphere.

Scientists, concerned that a new eruption of Nevado del Ruiz might send more melted snow cascading down, mounted a round-the-clock watch on the volcano.

In Washington, in Moscow and in other capitals, the meeting is seen not only as a clash of ideologies but also as a contest between two formidable personalities.

Aides to Mr. Reagan say he is trying to persuade Mr. Gorbachev that the Kremlin view of the United States is incorrect. Soviet officials expect their man, who has established a reputation in public relations in his own right, to prove the more forceful and better-prepared of the two in their meetings.

Eduardo Parra, a volcano expert, said that the chances of a new eruption or lava flows were receding but that there still was a danger of mudslides.

However, Derrel Herd, a leading American volcano specialist, said Saturday in Bogotá, before flying over the volcano, that "additional explosions can be expected."

Mr. Herd, deputy chief of the United States Geological Survey's Office of Earthquakes, said that only about 20 percent of the volcano's ice field had been removed by the eruption, and that the remaining ice could "probably be the source of more mud flow activity."

■ **Aid Arrives**

The civil aviation authorities said that more than 50 planes, including some from the United States, Canada, Venezuela, Brazil, Britain, Spain and France, arrived in Colombia over the weekend with emergency supplies. The Associated Press reported from Bogotá.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Church Envoy Had Talks With Beirut Kidnappers

By Nora Boustanian  
Washington Post Service

BEIRUT — Terry Waite, a special envoy of the archbishop of Canterbury, said Sunday that he had met with the kidnappers of four Americans in Lebanon.

He later left Lebanon to report to the archbishop, who is the spiritual leader of the Church of England, and to consult with U.S. officials.

Mr. Waite, a lay representative of the archbishop, the Most Reverend Robert Runcie, said at a news conference before his departure for London that his mission was not complete yet, but that "positive steps have been taken."

He announced Saturday that a face-to-face meeting was being arranged between him and the kidnappers, and that he had established they were holding the American hostages.

Mr. Waite emphasized the delicate nature of his negotiations with the kidnappers and refused to provide details on the persons with whom he had met.

"There is absolutely no doubt at all," he said, "that I have got

through to the right people, and that a measure of trust has been established."

"I will not say at all where I met, with whom I met or what passed between us," Mr. Waite said. "Speculation about any of those points could cost lives."

It was the first known meeting between a Western representative and the abductors of the Americans. Islamic Jihad, a Shiite fundamentalist group, has claimed responsibility for the kidnappings.

Mr. Waite said he planned to fly to Washington or another location Sunday night to confer with U.S. officials.

Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said Sunday that Reagan administration officials would be willing to meet Mr. Waite in London, Washington or Geneva, where preparations are under way for the talks Tuesday and Wednesday between President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

Mr. Waite said that he had had "lengthy contacts" with the kidnappers since arriving in Beirut on Wednesday night.

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■ The Philippine insurgents are home-grown, cautious and self-reliant. Page 2.

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■ Nicaragua will break ties with Taiwan and permit the Beijing government to open an embassy in Managua. Page 5.

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■ OECD members disagreed openly about U.S. growth prospects. Page 11.

■ Oil drilling off the South China coast has proven a disappointment to leading oil companies. Page 11.

### TOMORROW

The British-Irish agreement on Northern Ireland is risky and fragile for both countries.

■ The agreement is important because it's party, Fíanna Fail, is the largest single grouping in the Dail, Ireland's parliament. In a recent poll, Mr. Haughey led Garret FitzGerald, the prime minister, by 19 percentage points.

Mr. Haughey's opposition to the agreement is a greater threat to its long-term survival than to its ratification. The two parties in the governing coalition met Saturday and agreed to ratify the accord.

Mr. FitzGerald's Fine Gael Party and the Labor Party together hold 86 seats in the parliament, compared with 73 seats for Mr. Haughey's party.

Mr. Haughey said his party would try to change the agreement if it came to power.

"We will certainly not be prepared to accept it in its present form," he said.

Given Mr. Haughey's high rating in the polls and the fact that an

agreement must be held within two years, many political analysts said it was likely that the opposition would come to power unless the Irish economy picked up soon.

But otherwise, the early reaction here to the agreement has been cautiously favorable. Under the accord, the Dublin government is given a mechanism for pressing its views on virtually all matters touching the Roman Catholic minority in predominantly Protestant Northern Ireland.

The agreement says that Northern Ireland will remain British until a majority of its inhabitants want a change in that status. The accord also accepts the legitimacy of the nationalist position, provided those seeking a unified Ireland press their case through persuasion rather than violence.

In a front-page editorial Saturday, the Irish Independent, Dub-

lin's largest daily, called the agreement "reasonable, balanced, restrained." "It occupied the middle ground."

The Irish Times said: "The Irish-Anglo agreement is a reasonable deal. It is not a solution; it is a beginning. It has to be welcomed."

■ Threat From Protestants

Northern Ireland's hard-line Protestant politicians threatened Saturday to resign from the British Parliament to protest the accord. The Associated Press reported from Belfast.

The Reverend Ian Paisley, leader

of the Democratic Unionist Party, said he and his 14 fellow Protestant legislators would give up their parliamentary seats unless Britain agreed to hold a referendum in Northern Ireland on the accord.

If Britain refused, Mr. Paisley said, "then they are making the choice of anarchy, not us."

Under the legislation, the president would be required to cut the budget drastically, probably including the military, to reach a certain deficit ceiling if Congress fails to provide an annual budget with the requisite cuts to reach a balanced budget by the end of the decade.

The defense secretary told a Senate subcommittee Thursday that he would recommend that President Reagan veto the proposal on a balanced budget, suggesting that it could endanger the nation's defense.

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Several officials, who asked not to be identified, said they believed the defense secretary was playing into the hands of critics of the proposal by raising legislative obstacles to enactment of the proposal as favored by President Reagan.

In addition, they said the defense secretary was making it easier for Congress to pass a version of the bill that the president would ultimately have to veto.

White House officials said that Mr. Weinberger had told Mr. Reagan he was not seeking to undermine the president but, instead, trying to assure that military spending would increase in each of the next three years to levels al-

ready urged by President Reagan and agreed to by Congress.

These levels would allow military spending to rise to make up for inflation in 1986 and increase to 3 percent above an inflation increase in 1987 and 1988.

In addition, the secretary had said that his remarks viewed in their entirety would support his contention that he was not undercutting the president and that his position had been misrepresented through only partial reporting of his statements.

Asked if the secretary's comments were counterproductive, a White House aide said, "You're damned right."

But Robert S. Sims, chief Pentagon spokesman, said it was "totally ridiculous" to suggest that Mr. Weinberger was attempting to undermine the legislation.

Meanwhile, the president vetoed a \$13-billion appropriation bill Friday, saying it showed the "failure of the budget process" and the "in-grown capacity to tackle the large budget deficit."

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## U.S. Is Criticized on Broad Range of Issues by Russian Press

Reuters

MOSCOW — The Soviet press criticized the United States on Sunday on issues ranging from space weapons and Asian security to alleged U.S. human rights abuses.

Articles in the Communist Party newspaper, Pravda, and by Tass, the press agency, expressed little hope that President Ronald Reagan's meetings with Mikhail S. Gorbachev would produce significant results.

Pravda said people longed for arms accords and improved super-power relations, "but at the very same time not one observer and not one newspaper expresses confidence that the American side is ready to take real steps along this road."

Pravda said the United States still counted on military superiority over the Soviet Union and warned that, if necessary, Moscow would match Mr. Reagan's space-defense program.

Tass, commenting on a Reagan interview with Japanese reporters, said he had tried to frighten Asian countries with a mythical Soviet threat.

"He said, among other things, that Washington favors a discussion at Geneva of the issue of Soviet SS-20 missiles deployed in the Asian part of the Soviet Union," the agency said. "Meanwhile, it is common knowledge that it is not



Two Soviet officials, Leonid M. Zamyatin, left, and Georgi A. Arbatov, meeting the press.

the Soviet Union but the United States which has recently intensified its military preparations in the Asian-Pacific region," it said.

"As far as the missiles in the Asian part of the Soviet Union are

concerned, they are deployed in precisely those numbers necessary to balance the U.S. potential in the region."

In another article, Tass accused the FBI of framing a case against

Leonard Peltier, an American Indian jailed for murder whom the Soviet press often calls a victim of U.S. human rights violations. Tass described him as "a courageous American Indian leader who has

languished behind bars on trumped-up charges for eight years now."

### Soviet Public Relations

Serge Schmemann of The New York Times reported from Geneva:

The Russians have maintained a hectic public relations schedule in Geneva since the first Soviet officials arrived last Monday.

At the Intercontinental Hotel, where the American briefings were to be held, workers were busy laying cable Friday for the press briefing room. At the International Conference Center, the Russians were busy giving briefings.

Their subject Friday was space-based defense, and a team of Soviet officials, led by Leonid M. Zamyatin, the Communist Party spokesman, and Georgi A. Arbatov, head of the Institute of the United States and Canada, preached, wise-cracked and tangled with about 300 journalists in town for the opening Tuesday of the two-day summit meeting.

On Wednesday, they defended the Soviet record on human rights; on Thursday they attended a lunch with 90 reporters; and on Saturday they were to hold a briefing on regional problems. Between those engagements the Russians put out the word that officials were available for interviews.

In contrast, a small American office at the International Conference Center was staffed only by press attachés brought over from Warsaw and Bonn, and no briefings were scheduled until Sunday.

American sources complained that the Soviet briefings were setting a combative tone on the eve of the summit meeting.

Mr. Arbatov denied that the Russians were gaining any unfair advantage. "Your people talk much more," he said.

But in Geneva, the Russians seem to have a monopoly on talking for now, and much of the time they have displayed the kind of sophistication that has put a new face on Soviet public relations since Mr. Gorbachev came to power in March.

Though they have made few new points, the Russians have often shown wit in assailing Washington's positions.

Asked how Mr. Gorbachev was preparing for the meeting, Mr. Arbatov referred sarcastically to reports that Mr. Reagan was studying videotapes. "Mr. Gorbachev doesn't need 10-minute video clips to fill his attention span," he said.

At another point, parrying queries about shifting Soviet positions on Mr. Reagan's proposal for a space-based defense, an official pulled out a slip of paper to quote in English from Voltaire: "I have never made but one prayer: O God, make my enemies ridiculous."

## Weinberger Calls For Vigilance

(Continued from Page 1)

Central Committee's chief spokesman on international affairs; Colonel General Nikolai F. Chervov, a frequent spokesman on arms control; and Yevgeni P. Velikov, a nuclear physicist and vice president of the Academy of Sciences.

The White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, earlier had pointed out that Mr. Weinberger's views on SALT-2 had been known publicly before his letter to the president was leaked to the newspapers.

The secretary's remarks, he said, were contained in a cover letter accompanying a Pentagon review of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty requested by the president.

Robert C. McFarlane, the president's national security adviser, said at his own news conference that the leak of Mr. Weinberger's letter was "unfortunate."

He declined to predict what the president's decision about SALT-2 was going to be.

Mr. McFarlane stressed what he described as deep-seated differences that existed between the two sides.

The president, he said, viewed his meeting with Mr. Gorbachev as "an opportunity for an exchange of the full spectrum of the differences between our two countries."

He said that the Russians were attempting to force the United States to make a choice between defending our friends and allies or maintaining a central balance in strategic systems between ourselves and the Soviet Union.

His remarks referred to the Soviet proposition that U.S. medium-range Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe must be counted as part of U.S. strategic weaponry, and that the United States therefore must choose between reducing either its cruise and Pershing missiles or its intercontinental land and sea-based weapons.

Mr. McFarlane said that talks between Soviet and U.S. experts during the last few days had narrowed the differences between the sides on "several of the bilateral issues."

Mr. McFarlane and the four Soviet officials who preceded him on the stage of the press center restated in summary form the respective armament proposals made public by the two sides over the past months.

Mr. McFarlane, asked about the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative program for space-based defense, answered that there were in effect two U.S. programs.

The first, he said, was Mr. Reagan's initial declaration calling for an impregnable shield that would make offensive nuclear weapons obsolete.

The Soviet news conference was disrupted for several minutes when a Soviet dissident, Irina Grivina, who left the Soviet Union three weeks ago, engaged the Soviet officials in a shouting match.

She asked for news about Anatoli I. Koryagin, a psychiatrist who, she said, was dying in a Soviet labor camp after recently starting his fourth hunger strike.

Mr. Zamyatin said that there were "no political prisoners" in the Soviet Union. He said he was not familiar with Mr. Koryagin's case.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Soviet Agriculture Minister Removed

MOSCOW (Reuters) — The agriculture minister, Valerii K. Meissel, has been relieved of his post and appointed Communist Party chief for the Moscow region, the Tass press agency reported.

Tass said Saturday that Mr. Meissel had replaced Vasili I. Konotop, 69, who was retired, as the party boss for Moscow. Mr. Meissel was the 15th minister in the Soviet government to lose his job since Mikhail S. Gorbachev became party leader in March.

In a separate report, Tass said that a deputy prime minister, Leonid V. Smirnov, 79, had been retired. Mr. Smirnov, who had held his job for 22 years, was the second deputy prime minister in two days to lose his post. Tass said he was replaced by Yuri Maslyukov, a deputy chairman of the state planning agency. On Friday, Tass announced the replacement of the deputy prime minister in charge of material and technical supply, Nikolai V. Martynov, 75, by Lev A. Voronin, 57.

### U.S. Says Nicaragua Has Mi-2 Copters

WASHINGTON (WP) — Soviet bloc countries have recently stepped up shipments to Nicaragua, including at least two Polish Mi-2 helicopters that can be armed to project ground troops, according to U.S. officials with access to intelligence reports.

The helicopters, which have the Western alliance code name of Hoplite, were landed at the Cuban port of Mariel, officials said, and then loaded on Nicaraguan cargo ships. This continued the new pattern of Warsaw Pact countries taking their cargoes only as far as Cuba, officials said.

U.S. officials outlined the latest spurt of shipments to Nicaragua as part of the Reagan administration's campaign on behalf of the contrarian revolutionaries, or "contras," who are fighting the Sandinist government there. The administration maintains that the Nicaraguan government is supplied and backed by Soviet bloc countries.

### Winnie Mandela Defies Police Order

CAPE TOWN — Winnie Mandela, the black nationalist leader, continued to defy a police order to return to internal exile Sunday.

She remained at a hotel in Cape Town near the hospital where her husband, Nelson, the leader of the outlawed African National Congress, is recovering from prostate gland surgery. Her lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said that Mrs. Mandela would stay in Cape Town until her husband returned to prison.

Mrs. Mandela refused to return to the remote Orange Free State township near Brandfort to which she was banished in 1977.

In Johannesburg, police said that two people were shot dead Sunday when blacks attacked a police car and a private home. In overnight violence in black townships three blacks died in clashes with police, they said.



Winnie Mandela

### Rightist Wins Mayoralty in Brazil Vote

RIO DE JANEIRO (NYT) — Eight months after Brazil returned to civilian government, a former president, Juscelino Kubitschek, has been elected mayor of São Paulo with the support of leftist forces long identified with the former military government. The elections were the first free of military control in 21 years.

Mr. Kubitschek's victory in the country's largest city was a setback for the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party, which for two decades opposed military rule and now is the dominant partner in the governing coalition that supports President José Sarney. His defeat of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, considered a potential presidential candidate for the Democratic Movement, could have major implications for general elections next year, the remodeling of Mr. Sarney's cabinet and the structure of political parties in Brazil.

However, the Democratic Movement took a majority of the 200 mayoralties at stake, reaffirming itself as the country's largest party. It won 11 of 23 state capitals and was ahead in six others. It also suffered one other key defeat, in Rio de Janeiro, the candidate backed by the state's Socialist governor, Leonel Brizola, won easily.

### Cairo Tells 7 Nations of Alleged Plots

CAIRO (Reuters) — Egypt has informed seven European and African embassies of alleged Libyan terrorist plots in their countries, the Interior Ministry said Sunday.

It said Interior Minister Ahmad Rusdi had met with the ambassadors of Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Nigeria in the past few days and informed them of details of the alleged plots.

The ministry statement said the information was obtained in confessions from four men identified by the authorities as Libyans, who were detained last week for questioning in what Cairo said was a plot to kill Libyan exiles living in Egypt. The statement described the confessions as "highly important and serious" but did not elaborate.

### UN Sanctions on Pretoria Blocked

UNITED NATIONS, New York (NYT) — The United States and Britain have vetoed a resolution that would have imposed mandatory economic and trade sanctions against South Africa for its failure to carry out a 1978 UN plan to establish an independent South-West Africa, or Namibia.

France abstained in the vote Friday night, while 12 of the Security Council's 15 members supported the measure. Despite attempts by Western members of the council to remove the references to mandatory sanctions to which U.S. and British representatives objected, India and Peru refused to compromise according to diplomats.

The resolution called for oil and arms embargoes and bans on all new investment, new government and bank loans and credit guarantees. It also would have prohibited all export credit guarantees for shipments to South Africa and Namibia; importation of South African and Namibian uranium, and the sale of Krugerrands.

### For the Record

Spanish air traffic controllers decided Saturday to begin a 48-hour strike Monday after talks with the government failed to produce an agreement on their demand for a pay raise, union officials said. (Reuters)

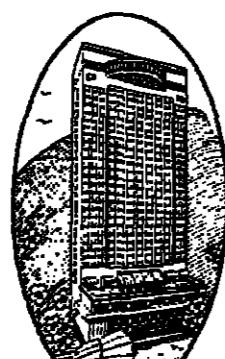
The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has reached an agreement in principle with aspirin makers to require warnings linking the drug and Reye's Syndrome in children, congressional sources said Friday. The disease, which sometimes follows treatment of viral infections with aspirin, can cause comas, brain damage and death. (LAT)

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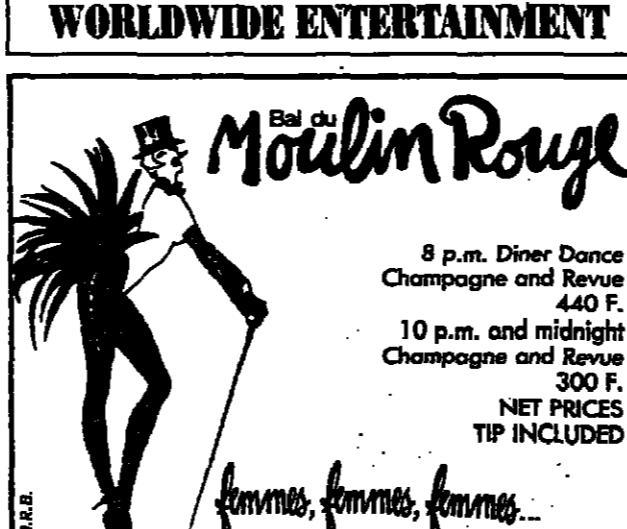
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## AMERICAN TOPICS

## Summits and Politics

## Small Opinion Shifts

The summit meeting with Mikhail S. Gorbachev is unlikely to strengthen or weaken President Ronald Reagan's political position at home. This conclusion comes from a Washington polling concern, William R. Hamilton & Staff, which analyzed Gallup Poll records of presidential approval ratings before and after nine summit meetings since 1955.

Twice there was a measurable gain: President Richard M. Nixon after the 1972 Moscow meeting (9 percent) and President Dwight D. Eisenhower after the 1955 Geneva meeting (4 percent).

Two other times, popularity declined: President Gerald R. Ford's by 6 percent after the 1974 meeting in the Soviet Far East city of Vladivostok and President Lyndon B. Johnson's by 5 percent after the 1967 meeting in Glassboro, New Jersey. After all five other U.S.-Soviet summit meetings, shifts in presidential approval ratings were so small as to be statistically insignificant.

A new poll on Mr. Reagan himself, taken from Nov. 6 to Nov. 10 by The New York Times and CBS News, found that Mr. Reagan's popularity rating remained high. Sixty-five percent of the people interviewed from Nov. 6 to Nov. 10 approved of his handling of his job while 26 percent disapproved. The approval rate matched that found in January and July. Mr. Reagan has conceded that that rate in Times-CBS News polls only once, when 67 percent approved of him in April 1981, after he was shot.

## Short Takes

**Hydrilla.** The weed that chokes waterways, has been fought in the Potomac River around Washington with herbicides, underwater harvester and even electric lights to kill it by disrupting its normal light-dark cycle. In California's Impen Valley, sterile carp, which weigh up to 50 pounds (about 22 kilograms) and eat up to twice their weight in weeds each day, are being put to work against the weed in irrigation canals. The carp are sterilized to keep them from reproducing and crowding out game fish like catfish and bass.

**Bennington College.** In Vermont has the highest tuition in the United States, \$17,200 for the 1985-86 school year, but has

been in debt for years. One reason is its student-teacher ratio, which is eight to one. Another, President Michael K. Hooker says, is that Bennington, conceived in 1925 but not opened until 1932, is only 53. "Happily, most of the alumni are still alive. Since money for endowment usually comes from people's wills, that has made it hard for us. But we now know of several million dollars in bequests that will come to us, if we hang on."

## Notes About People

William Proxmire turned 70 years old this month, and has spent half those years in the U.S. Senate. The Wisconsin Democrat says that of the changes over 35 years, "one interesting difference is behavior," adding: "The first night I was here, a number of senators were literally intoxicated. I haven't seen any senator who has shown the slightest sign of being influenced by liquor or the floor in the last six or seven years."

**William Proxmire**

Two other times, popularity declined: President Gerald R. Ford's by 6 percent after the 1974 meeting in the Soviet Far East city of Vladivostok and President Lyndon B. Johnson's by 5 percent after the 1967 meeting in Glassboro, New Jersey. After all five other U.S.-Soviet summit meetings, shifts in presidential approval ratings were so small as to be statistically insignificant.

A new poll on Mr. Reagan himself, taken from Nov. 6 to Nov. 10 by The New York Times and CBS News, found that Mr. Reagan's popularity rating remained high. Sixty-five percent of the people interviewed from Nov. 6 to Nov. 10 approved of his handling of his job while 26 percent disapproved. The approval rate matched that found in January and July. Mr. Reagan has conceded that that rate in Times-CBS News polls only once, when 67 percent approved of him in April 1981, after he was shot.

**Short Takes**

**Michelle Phillips.** 41, is telling the story of the sometimes less than harmonious offstage lives of the Mamas and the Papas, the 1960s rock group whose music was once described as "whipped cream and champagne." Written with Derek Taylor, the book is titled "California Dreamin' — The Music, the Madness, the Magic That Was" and is due out in May.

**Andy Warhol.** 57, the Pop Art pioneer, was signing copies of "America," his new book of photographs, when a woman snatched his trademark platinum wig and fled. The artist pulled up the hood of his parka and continued autographing.

— Compiled by  
ARTHUR HIGGINS

## After Agony of Rescue, the Trapped Are Left to Die

(Continued from Page 1) roared down an Andean canyon and exploded into Armero, on the low land. On Friday, signs of the force of the avalanche could be seen everywhere. The torrent had flipped trucks like toys against houses, and a mud-filled blue Renault had smashed through a cement supporting column at the hospital.

Near the hospital, three nurses who had tried to flee lay dead in an ambulance, crushed by a falling palm tree.

"There are dead under our feet," a survivor, Oscar Ariza, said, pointing to the first floor of the hospital, where an estimated 30 doctors, nurses, and patients were entombed by a mass of mud.

Exhausted rescue workers were frustrated by their powerlessness to rescue the living.

"There are many people trapped out there alive, but they are going to die," said Leopoldo Guevara Sepulveda, a civil defense worker, who by midday was directing rescue operations from the hospital roof. "The mud is 12 and 16 feet out there and we can't get to them."

Close to noon, a group of 30 survivors was sighted struggling to reach the safety of the hospital.

"Grab the wires," men on the roof shouted. By hanging onto the dead telephone and electrical lines it was possible to avoid drowning in the quicksand of the mud.

The haggard survivors carried



Omaira Sanchez, 13, submerged to her neck in water in the rubble of her house in Armero, died Saturday before she could be dislodged, despite three days of rescue efforts.

ies lying half-submerged near the hospital walls.

After the group was pulled to safety, rescue workers were distracted by a report of a man trapped alive on the first floor. The stairs to the first floor disappeared

picks were sending up clouds of concrete dust and sparks as they dug a man-sized hole in the floor. Dr. Ordonez attempted to talk to the trapped man.

"I can move, but there's water up to my neck," the man, who identified himself only as Fernando, said weakly.

By late afternoon, workers were still trying to free the man, who had been trapped for 40 hours.

On a hospital bed Saturday in nearby Manizales, volcanic sand still caked in her hair, Blanca Olivia Ochoa de Prada lay worrying how to feed her two sons without her husband's salary of \$20 a week.

"I don't know if he is alive or dead," Mrs. Ochoa de Prada said quietly. Her husband, Alfonso Prada, worked in the rice fields of Armero.

Mrs. Ochoa said she last saw him

Wednesday when an avalanche of mud and rocks burst into their one-room cinder-block home in Armero. Groping in the darkness, she grabbed her children and rode out the torrent — "that moving swamp," she called it — clinging to an uprooted tree.

The avalanche may have pushed many people like her over the edge of poverty into destitution. Across Latin America, cities are ringed with shantytowns built by the survivors of similar catastrophes: droughts in Brazil, floods in Peru, civil war in Central America, and earthquakes up and down the Andean chain.

"We just had a bed, a gas stove and plastic plates; now we have nothing," Mrs. Ochoa de Prada said, lying under a cheaply woven blanket. "We only escaped with the clothes we have on our backs."

In Colombia, as in most of Latin America, government welfare is al-

most nonexistent, and only families provide a safety net in times of emergency.

An only child, Mrs. Ochoa de Prada lost both her parents when she was 9 years old. Her parents, also farmworkers, were killed in political violence in the mid-1950s.

Newspapers on Saturday started printing lists of names of the injured, with the hospitals where they were confined. But Mrs. Ochoa de Prada, 39, said no one would be looking in the newspaper for her name. She and her husband never learned to read or write.

Any work she is likely to find in this region would generally pay less than the subsistence wage her husband earned in the rice fields.

Mrs. Ochoa de Prada's older son had been born in elementary school. The school was swept away by the mud flow.

Without money to pay for rice and beans, much less school books and materials, Mrs. Ochoa de Prada did not believe that she could afford to allow him to continue studying.

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# Reagan, Gorbachev Meeting: A New Approach in History of Summits



Dwight D. Eisenhower met with Nikita S. Khrushchev in Geneva in 1955; Richard M. Nixon greeted Leonid I. Brezhnev in California in 1973; and John F. Kennedy and Khrushchev conferred in Vienna in 1961.



By David Hoffman  
*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — The sessions between President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev on the shores of Lake Geneva on Tuesday and Wednesday — the first meeting of the top U.S. and Soviet leaders since 1979 — mark a significant break in the history of superpower summit meetings.

Mr. Reagan is taking a different tack than his recent predecessors. Presidents Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter used summit meetings to negotiate specific arms control agreements, resulting in the SALT-1 and SALT-2 accords of the 1970s. Mr. Reagan says he does not want to dicker in Geneva in this way but seeks to "eliminate the distrust" characterizing relations between the United States and the Soviet Union during his presidency.

While some earlier summit meetings ended with major agreements on nuclear weapons, this one is expected to conclude with Mr. Reagan signing minor accords and leaving negotiations on arms to the U.S. and Soviet teams that have been meeting in Geneva.

A former adviser to Mr. Nixon, Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution, said, "This is the first summit in six years, so it should not be compared to the kind of summit we had in the 1970s."

Those meetings, he said, "came at the end of extremely intensive periods of negotiation."

Mr. Reagan is starting a new chapter in another sense — the Gorbachev era, which could stretch to the end of the century, has just begun. While six U.S. presidents have preceded Mr. Reagan to the summit during the last 30 years, only two Soviet leaders have dominated those meetings: Leonid I. Brezhnev, who attended five, and

Nikita S. Khrushchev, who held four.

This meeting also could mark the beginning of a new phase in superpower summits if Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev agree to hold a second meeting, or regular meetings, as Mr. Brezhnev once proposed. The 10 summit meetings since World War II were generally held

the allies have been left on the sidelines in 1985 and are to be briefed by Mr. Reagan in Brussels afterward.

The shift to emphasizing strategic arms control on the agenda was highlighted at the 1967 meeting that was hastily convened at Glassboro State College in New Jersey between President Lyndon B.

Reagan is taking a different tack from his recent predecessors by saying he does not want to use the meetings to negotiate arms control agreements, seeking instead to eliminate distrust between governments.

at haphazard intervals, except for three consecutive meetings in the Nixon era.

Summit sessions have produced varied results, ranging from the Paris meeting that collapsed in 1960 after the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 spy plane to the major accords on strategic arms signed in the Nixon, Ford and Carter years.

The emphasis has changed, too.

Meetings involving Presidents

Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F.

Kennedy stressed reducing international tension caused by such con-

ferences as the reuniification of

Germany and the Berlin blockade.

By the 1970s, arms control was the

prime topic.

Paralleling growth in the super-

power's nuclear arsenals, there also

has been a shift from the emphasis in

Eisenhower's presidency on mul-

tilateral summit meetings.

In contrast with the Geneva

meeting of 1955, when Eisenhower

stood shoulder-to-shoulder with

the leaders of Britain and France,

Johnson and the Soviet prime minister, Alexei N. Kosygin.

There, Robert C. McNamara, then secretary of defense, tried to persuade Kosygin that Moscow's system of anti-ballistic missiles threatened to widen the arms race.

The discussion eventually led to

the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of

1972.

Mr. Nixon met with Brezhnev

three times, and summit meetings

became more ambitious undertakings, producing major agreements on strategic arms.

Mr. Nixon also tried to use summit meetings to extricate the United States from

the Vietnam and the Russian

with his diplomatic opening to Chi-

na, but the strategy was under-

mined by the Watergate scandal

and Mr. Nixon's resignation in Au-

gust 1974.

Later that year, it fell to Mr.

Ford in Vladivostok to reach a tem-

tative agreement with Brezhnev

that laid the groundwork for

SALT-2.

The Reagan administration has

## Allies Are Cautiously Optimistic About Outcome at Geneva

By William Drozdik  
*Washington Post Service*

BRUSSELS — The first summit meeting between American and Soviet leaders in six years has awakened fresh hopes among U.S. allies that Washington and Moscow may be groping toward tangible improvements in the East-West climate after the collapse of détente bred a phase of dangerous tensions.

The rapid consolidation of power by Mikhail S. Gorbachev within eight months of assuming the Soviet leadership has buoyed hopes that the Kremlin is now controlled by a man driven by the need to modernize his nation and to do so by nurturing a more stable relationship with its chief foreign rival.

The coincidence of Ronald Reagan's second presidential term, following four years of rebuilding American power and prestige, has convinced many allies that he will focus the rest of his tenure on burnishing his credentials as a peacemaker.

Now that Mr. Reagan finally has a vigorous counterpart in Moscow who shares his concern about public image, the allies feel both leaders may be motivated to act in ways more keenly attuned to a global yearning for civil dialogue between the superpowers.

The Reagan administration's awareness that it faces a more formidable contest for hearts and minds in the Gorbachev era has been reflected in frequent consultations with the allies before the summit meeting Tuesday and Wednesday in Geneva.

Besides Mr. Reagan's meeting with five leaders of industrialized democracies in New York last month, foreign and defense ministers from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have held separate sessions in Brussels to ensure that Mr. Reagan goes to Geneva with the full support and solidarity of the allies.

Mr. Reagan's response to the Soviet proposal Sept. 30 that would cut strategic nuclear weapons by 50

percent was greeted with approval and relief in European capitals.

Mr. Reagan immediately held intensive talks with NATO allies on how to respond to the proposal, although these talks resulted in contradictory responses from the Reagan administration.

In New York, Western leaders had warned Mr. Reagan about letting Mr. Gorbachev set the pace for the summit conference with his wide-ranging offer, and they were reassured that the United States had seized the upper hand on arms control by diverting attention from Moscow's proposal.

This was done during October, when the U.S. president said constructive relations with the Soviet Union depended on easing U.S.-Soviet rivalries in the Third World. He also proposed giving assurances to the Soviet Union that it would negotiate any proposed deployment of new defensive strategic weapons and give five to seven years' notice before deploying such arms unilaterally.

The common desire among Western nations and Russia to see the summit talks instill more predictability and understanding in the Soviet-American dialogue has inspired them to submerge apprehensions about Mr. Reagan's vision of a space-based missile defense and the influence of Pentagon hawks who doubt the worth of arms control.

Instead, the allies have displayed a striking consensus, at least publicly, behind the U.S. administration's tactics in its approach to the Geneva meeting.

Concerned about the political risks of a disappointing outcome, the allies have joined the United States in seeking to lower public expectations that the meeting might lead to a conceptual breakthrough that could set guidelines for an early accord at the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space weapons.

"I am being prudent about what I expect," Prime Minister Bettino Craxi of Italy told parliament, ex-

pressing sentiments of other leading Europeans. "I do not wholly discount an agreement and I would consider a breakdown injurious."

"I think it would already be a great result," Mr. Craxi continued, "if the summit effectively opened up a period of dialogue, if it created a different atmosphere of greater mutual trust."

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany has acclaimed the fact that the summit conference was taking place as a vindication of his repeated pleas for more intensive East-West contacts. Although Mr. Kohl, too, has sought to minimize the stakes at Geneva, his advisers say he is acutely aware that Bonn's hopes for closer relations with East Germany depend to a large extent on the evolution of U.S.-Soviet ties.

Like Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Mr. Kohl is eager to show that his friendly rapport with his fellow conservative, Mr. Reagan, can have an impact on U.S. policy and bring to Europe's defense for further relaxation of tensions with Moscow.

Britain and West Germany also share a particular interest in promoting an East-West agreement to reduce chemical weapons stocks in Europe. Officials in both countries believe that Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev might be able to make more substantial headway in that area rather than in forging an agreement on nuclear weapons.

"They are not going to get a settlement" on nuclear arms, predicted a British official who closely reflects Mrs. Thatcher's thinking. What Britain seeks, he added, is "a real impetus to the arms control process; the object is to break the logjam."

If nothing else, Britain and other allies would applaud a bilateral accord on consular or cultural exchanges, or a joint agreement for regular high-level meetings between the superpowers. "If that's all it does, it would be a slightly disappointing but worthwhile end," said a Foreign Office diplomat in London.

U.S. government officials reported Thursday that the United States and the Soviet Union have completed drafting such a cultural exchange agreement.

France, which last month hosted Mr. Gorbachev's first visit to the West as Soviet leader, has kept its distance before the summit meeting to underscore its independent foreign policy. President François Mitterrand rebuffed Mr. Reagan's invitation to meet with him and other allied leaders in New York last month.

"We have already had our own summit with Gorbachev," said Dominique Moïsi, associate director of the French Institute for International Relations.

"There is general indifference among public opinion about what is seen as another media event," he said. "We fear little and hope for little."

Political analysts cited another reason for French aloofness as that government's determination not to give Moscow an excuse to include French nuclear arms in the overall Western nuclear arsenal at the Geneva negotiations. Paris has countered this long-standing Soviet demand by insisting its nuclear force remains truly autonomous.

While the allies acknowledge public interest is so great that arms control is bound to dominate the agenda, they have supported U.S. intentions to raise other issues such as human rights and regional conflicts.

An exchange of views on regional conflicts, such as Afghanistan, the Middle East or southern Africa, is unlikely to yield much progress, according to officials in various European capitals.

The probable result, a British diplomat said, is "a pretty unproductive discussion in which the two sides are talking over each other's shoulders."

William Drozdik is The Post's correspondent in London. Other correspondents, including Karen De Young in Bonn, Michael Dobbs in Paris, Loren Jenkins in Rome and John Burgess in Tokyo, contributed to this article.

## Reagan to Seek Soviet Help In Ending Conflict in Gulf

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has decided to propose to the Soviet Union at the Geneva summit meeting that the two nations use their influence to try to bring an end to the Iran-Iraq war, administration officials said.

The officials said Saturday they thought that Moscow and Washington had a common interest in seeing the fighting stopped in the Gulf war, which has been going on for more than five years.

But there was a recognition, a senior official said, that any Soviet-American cooperation on the issue probably would have to be in parallel and not in concert, given the sharp differences between the two sides on almost all regional world matters. They said they were hoping for some statement at the end of the summit meeting by the two leaders calling for a negotiated end to the conflict.

One official said there had been pressure from Arab nations on both the United States and the Soviet Union to seek an end to the war.

Some Arab countries urged that Washington and Moscow

join as co-sponsors of a UN Security Council resolution to end the fighting. But the United States rejected the idea, officials said, because it felt this would have no impact on Iran, which is dominated by those hostile to it.

Richard W. Murphy, the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, will be in Geneva during the summit meeting, in case his expertise is needed in the negotiations. He then will go to the region to brief key leaders on the talks.

Regional issues are due to be discussed on Wednesday morning by Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev, although they could come up earlier.

Given the refusal to date of Iran to consider any negotiated accord that does not include the resignation of the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, there was no optimism that any Soviet-American approach might work.

But one official said those in Iran who want an end to the war might seize upon the fact that Moscow and Washington have agreed on the need for a cessation of fighting to argue their point of view.

## Despite New Proposals, Standby Drafts, Neither Side Expects Arms Accord in Geneva

### The Arms Proposals: A Balance Sheet

Figures compiled by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Current Balance		Soviet Proposal, Oct. '85		U.S. Proposal, Nov. '85	
U.S.	Soviet	U.S.	Soviet	U.S.	Soviet
Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)	1,630 (1,400 ICBMs) and 600 SLBMs	2,352 (1,200 ICBMs) and 494 SLBMs	815 1,176	1,250-1,450	1,250-1,450
			Applies 50 percent cut across the board using U.S. figures. Soviet Union counts all 5 strategic and medium-range systems at 3,000 and 2,500, not including SS-20's. Using Soviet figures, 50 percent cut would result in 1,880 systems for U.S. and 1,250 for Soviet Union	Freedom to mix between ICBM and SLBM launches.	
ICBM and SLBM warheads	7,506 (2,130 ICBMs) and 5,376 SLBMs	8,330 (8,420 ICBMs) and (2,410 SLBMs)	6,000 6,000	4,500	4,500
			Only 3,600 of any one type, 6,000 limit also applies to gravity bombs and short-range attack missiles (U.S. rejects this inclusion)	No more than 3,000 on ICBMs.	
Heavy bombers	263	480	131 90	350	350
			Includes 300 Backfires. Soviet Union says this is not a strategic bomber.	Backfires not included	Includes 300 Backfires.
Air-launched cruise missiles	1,176	200	0 0	1,500	1,500
			Part of larger total ban on long-range cruise missiles		
Missile throw weight	4.4 million pounds	11.9 million pounds	Not included	Not to exceed 6 million pounds	Not to exceed 6 million pounds
New systems			Ban on new types of ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers. Soviet Union has not defined what it considers to be new types	Ban on all new heavy ICBMs and mobile missiles, including Soviet SS-18 modernization and replacement plans, Soviet SS-24 and SS-25	

Summits

By Henry A. Kissinger

## Reagan's Chances of Negotiating an Accord at Geneva: If Not Now, When?

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan has gone to Geneva in a strong negotiating position. He has the opportunity to turn an episode in history into a breakthrough.

He is the beneficiary of an unmatched degree of public confidence; his Strategic Defense Initiative has unlocked the arms control talks; he finds the Soviet situation highly fluid and potentially malleable. This is not because General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev smiles more easily, because his wife wears Gucci shoes, but because objective conditions in the Soviet Union would seem to require a relaxation of tensions.

After 70 years of rule by "scientific socialism" the Soviet form of government remains more akin to the binding personal relationships found in medieval feudalism than to the constitutionalism found even in a modern corporation.

The Soviet economy is threatening to spin out of control, as the pronouncements of Soviet leaders themselves make clear. The real cost of manufactured goods is unknown, all prices are fixed by the state, and goods move by central allocation rather than markets. Corruption, sloth and inefficiency emerge not as aberrations, but as inevitable attributes of the system.

And soon the growing information technology will confront the Soviet system with new dilemmas. Where the control of information is considered the key to political power, cassettes, video machines and computers become threats to political control, rather than technological opportunities.

Mr. Gorbachev requires no sentimental commitment to Western notions of peace to conclude that his country cannot simultaneously sustain fundamental reform and heightened international tensions. But for him reform poses a Hob-

son's choice. He can seek to improve the performance of the existing structure, even though central planning provides too few incentives and allows too little spontaneity to be compatible with high technology, innovation or superior quality.

On the other hand, more fundamental reforms introducing incen-

has simultaneously pursued three approaches:

(a) He has cultivated the appearance of a new type of Soviet leader — appealing to Western preconceptions to reduce historical conflicts to a clash of personalities.

(b) He has downplayed political tensions as the cause of conflict.

(c) He has focused the Soviet

bodied in the Brezhnev doctrine that proclaims all Soviet possessions as sacrosanct and everything else as subject to pressure or subversion. The attempts to eliminate from the diplomatic agenda Afghanistan, Cuban troops in Nicaragua and Africa, and Soviet support for guerrilla movements and terrorists, have the practical consequence

counterproposal to ban mobile missiles. The 50-percent reduction would still leave more than enough warheads to assure civilian devastation and thereby guarantees the continued growth of nuclear pacifism in the West. The principal significance of the Soviet offer is to demonstrate that the nuclear dilemma cannot be solved by a reduction of offensive forces alone; for that a defensive component is essential.

CRTICS have continued to

urge a "compromise" that allows strategic defense research but prohibits any deployment of defensive forces. If that should be the outcome it will mark the end of SDI even as a bargaining chip.

Congress would be deeply divided about whether to appropriate funds to a controversial program; the military services would be ambivalent about diverting expenditures to what cannot be deployed; the allies would oppose any approach toward deployment. The Soviets would refuse to negotiate about it once the offensive limitations are in place. A formal distinction between research and deployment abandons the defensive option; particularly since it will be

Mr. Reagan's successor rather than the author of the SDI who will have to make the decision to deploy.

Having, in effect, committed itself to permanent vulnerability, how

does the West then maintain public support for a strategy of mass extermination? And what does it tell

the Soviets about our resolve if they can outmaneuver us at the time of their greatest uncertainty?

The West would be hardly doing

even the Soviets a favor were it to

sucumb to the current Soviet agenda.

If experience is a guide, we

have not heard the last Soviet word.

Given his necessities, Mr. Gorbachev might in time agree to a real

even historic change of political

and strategic relationships and to a serious discussion of the relationship between offense and defense. But he will have no incentive to do so while the West is mesmerized by the most transparent Soviet proposals and arranges periodic meetings while the Soviets sort out their domestic problems. The Soviet leadership has no motive for a radical change unless it can prove to itself that the existing course is not working. And there will never be a better time for a fundamental change — or at least for producing conditions conducive to change — than with a new Soviet leadership far less encumbered than it will be over time by existing policies and facing considerable domestic pressures. In other words, if not now, when?

THE risk Mr. Reagan runs at

Geneva is not failure but irrelevance.

He has a good prospect to achieve some progress; the question is whether future generations will think it commensurate with the opportunity. There are in fact three fundamental issues for the summit:

How to prevent or contain regional conflicts.

Will Mr. Gorbachev accept such

an approach? Mr. Reagan can insist.

And if Mr. Gorbachev has a

historical perspective, he should be

tempted by the only responsible

way to reduce the risk of a confu-

tion into which both sides could

slide because they lacked the wit to

step off the treadmill — a confu-

tion that, in the end, would so

exhaust the combatants that world



leadership would pass into new hands. If Mr. Gorbachev refuses, we will know that his personality and Soviet domestic structures condemn us to a continuation of existing patterns, if at a temporarily lower level of tension. Then we must take care to hold aloft the torch of peace but also make sure that the desire for peace cannot be used to blackmail the free into abandoning their sense of justice.

So what lies before Mr. Reagan is the choice between a tempting but largely irrelevant outcome or a new departure that points the way to a better future.

Los Angeles Times Syndicate

There will never be a better time for a fundamental change than with a new Soviet leadership far less encumbered than it will be over time by existing policies and facing considerable domestic pressures.

ives and markets would surely generate a titanic domestic struggle requiring all of Mr. Gorbachev's authority and attention. Faced with the choice between potential stagnation and potential turmoil, Mr. Gorbachev has every incentive to seek a relaxation of international tension.

But he must achieve this relaxation in a manner that does not magnify his domestic complexities. The forces in the Soviet Union that favor economic reform do not necessarily favor flexibility in foreign policy. To overcome party resistance Mr. Gorbachev will have to gain support from institutions that put efficiency above prerogatives and have access to more or less reliable information from abroad: the military, as shown in an article by the former chief of staff, Nikolai V. Ogarkov, may support economic efficiency as a prerequisite of military strength; the secret police, the KGB, may see in reform a means to control social unrest. But these very institutions are also the most reluctant to constrain Soviet geopolitical and strategic options.

THESE conflicting requirements dictate the thrust of current Soviet policy. Mr. Gorbachev

diplomatic offensive on arms control, especially on eliminating the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative in return for a 50-percent cut in offensive forces.

Mr. Gorbachev has been extraordinarily successful in imposing these themes. Western media and the pronouncements of Western leaders reflect a rapt fascination with the new Soviet personality, coupled with suggestions that he is entitled to some unilateral concessions to reassure him. Mr. Reagan's major speech at the United Nations calling for a settlement of political conflicts has been treated by most of our allies — and many U.S. commentators — as "widening" the summit agenda and therefore a diversion from the goal of arms control. And the same combination of allied governments and American intellectuals wedded to the outdated arms control concepts of the 1960s has sought to present the president's Strategic Defense Initiative as an obstacle and to reduce it to insignificance by confining it to research.

COMMON sense suggests that

the principal causes of tensions are political. Chief among them is the Soviet proposition em-

phasized in the Brezhnev doctrine that proclaims all Soviet possessions as sacrosanct and everything else as subject to pressure or subversion.

The Soviet attitude toward arms control reflects the same attempt to maintain all existing options. The most revolutionary new concept in that field, the defense initiative, has been battered by an unrelenting assault whose intensity has obscured the one major breakthrough SDI has already achieved: the Soviet readiness to discuss arms reductions on a heretofore unprecedented scale.

The Soviet offer to cut offensive forces by 50 percent is nevertheless one-sided, and not primarily because it provisions are loaded in the Soviet favor, a problem that could be remedied by negotiation. It is one-sided above all because it contains nothing to ameliorate the elements threatening nuclear catastrophe. It does not reduce the danger of surprise attack because so long as each missile carries several warheads there will always be more warheads than launchers, and as numbers decrease a first strike will grow even more tempting because fewer targets need to be attacked. This danger has been magnified by the incomprehensible American

offer to eliminate the offensive option; particularly since it will be Mr. Reagan's successor rather than the author of the SDI who will have to make the decision to deploy. Having, in effect, committed itself to permanent vulnerability, how does the West then maintain public support for a strategy of mass extermination? And what does it tell the Soviets about our resolve if they can outmaneuver us at the time of their greatest uncertainty?

The West would be hardly doing

even the Soviets a favor were it to

sucumb to the current Soviet agenda.

If experience is a guide, we

have not heard the last Soviet word.

Given his necessities, Mr. Gorbachev might in time agree to a real

even historic change of political

and strategic relationships and to a serious discussion of the relationship between offense and defense. But he will have no incentive to do so while the West is mesmerized by the most transparent Soviet proposals and arranges periodic meetings while the Soviets sort out their domestic problems. The Soviet leadership has no motive for a radical change unless it can prove to itself that the existing course is not working. And there will never be a better time for a fundamental change — or at least for producing conditions conducive to change — than with a new Soviet leadership far less encumbered than it will be over time by existing policies and facing considerable domestic pressures. In other words, if not now, when?

How the superpowers can conduct their relations so as to respect and not impinge on each other's vital interests.

How in the field of arms control to relate offense to defense while reducing the level of both and diminishing the incentive for nuclear war.

These issues cannot be resolved at one summit. But they cry out for a definition of their nature and a work program for their resolution.

Both leaders should state their disagreements and how they propose to resolve them. Each would thereby maintain his principles while charting a road to the future. What followed would determine whether the summit was an episode or a breakthrough.

Will Mr. Gorbachev accept such an approach? Mr. Reagan can insist. And if Mr. Gorbachev has a historical perspective, he should be tempted by the only responsible way to reduce the risk of a confrontation into which both sides could slide because they lacked the wit to step off the treadmill — a confrontation that, in the end, would so exhaust the combatants that world

leadership would pass into new hands. If Mr. Gorbachev refuses, we will know that his personality and Soviet domestic structures condemn us to a continuation of existing patterns, if at a temporarily lower level of tension. Then we must take care to hold aloft the torch of peace but also make sure that the desire for peace cannot be used to blackmail the free into abandoning their sense of justice.

So what lies before Mr. Reagan is the choice between a tempting but largely irrelevant outcome or a new departure that points the way to a better future.

Los Angeles Times Syndicate

## Nicaragua To Break Ties With Taiwan

By Stephen Kinzer  
New York Times Service

MANAGUA — Nicaragua will break relations with Taiwan soon and allow the Beijing government to open an embassy here, senior foreign diplomats said last week.

The Nicaraguan government's decision, which has not been announced officially, would be the most significant result of a diplomatic campaign undertaken by Beijing in Latin America in recent months.

Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang is touring the region and already has signed a commercial agreement with Venezuela, pledged to increase trade with Argentina and expressed interest in buying military equipment from Brazil.

A Chinese delegation visited Mexico last week to pursue plans for a \$200-million mining project there.

In the last four months, China has succeeded through diplomatic efforts in persuading two other nations in the Western Hemisphere to break ties with Taiwan and recognize Beijing. Bolivia did so in July, and Grenada followed at the end of September. Nicaragua would be the first country in Central America to take such a step.

The region has been regarded as one of Taiwan's last bastions of diplomatic support. Taiwan has fully accredited embassies in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama.

Although strongly anti-Communist, Taiwan has been providing aid to the leftist Nicaraguan government since soon after the Sandinists came to power in 1979. It previously aided the rightist regime of Anastasio Somoza.

Much of the aid sent from Taiwan to Nicaragua since 1979 has been used to run a large experimental farm in the northern province of Matagalpa. Diplomats said Nicaragua probably would seek aid from Beijing to compensate for the loss of assistance from Taiwan.

**Ruling Party Posts A Large Victory In Taiwan Voting**

TAIPEI — The ruling Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, apparently unaffected by two major scandals this year, has scored an overwhelming victory in Taiwan's local elections.

The Kuomintang, which has ruled Taiwan since 1949, led opposition candidates by wide margins in Saturday's elections for a provincial assembly, city councils, mayors and county magistrates posts. It won nearly 80 percent of the 200 offices contested, a party spokesman said.

The opposition Tangwai groups won only 17 seats, or a loss of three, in the 77-member assembly.

The Kuomintang spokesman described the victory as an indication of continued confidence in the ruling party by Taiwan's 19 million people.

The Kuomintang won despite two scandals. Three of Taiwan's top intelligence officials were involved in the murder of a dissident writer, Henry Liu, in California.

Additionally, a banking scandal brought down the Cathay business empire in February and forced the resignation of the economics minister, Hsu Li-teh, and his successor, Loh Jen-kong.



## V.K. Wellington Koo, Taiwan Diplomat, Dies at 97

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo, 97, a Nationalist Chinese diplomat, a former Chinese prime minister and a signer of the United Nations Charter, died Thursday at his home.

In 40 years of diplomatic service, Mr. Koo was ambassador to France from 1936 to 1941 and to Britain from 1941 to 1946. He then served as ambassador to the United States until 1956, when he became a member of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. After leaving the court in 1967, he became a senior adviser to the president of Taiwan.

Fluent in English, French and German, Mr. Koo became English secretary to the president of the newly established Republic of China in 1912, after he received his master's degree from Columbia University. He specialized in international law.

He served briefly as prime minister, foreign minister and finance minister of China in the 1920s and '30s.

John J. Sparkman, 85, Vice-Presidential Nominee

HUNTSVILLE, Alabama — John J. Sparkman, 85, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee in 1952, died Saturday of a heart attack.

Mr. Sparkman, an Alabama Democrat, served 42 years in Congress before retiring in January 1979. The son of a tenant farmer, he was first elected to the Senate in 1946 after serving for 10 years in the House of Representatives.

He was one of the early populist liberals to come out of the South and made his greatest legislative mark as an advocate of public housing while serving as chairman

of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs from 1967 to 1974.

The high point of Mr. Sparkman's political life came in 1952, when he was chosen as Adlai E. Stevenson's running mate. In the general election, Stevenson was defeated by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Smart Chase, 97, Economist Coined Phrase 'a New Deal'

REDDING, Connecticut (NYT) — Smart Chase, 97, an economist and a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "brain trust," who coined the phrase "a New Deal," died Saturday after a brief illness.

Mr. Chase, an outspoken advocate of government planning and intervention in the economy, was a prolific writer on economics, social

and political topics. He died Saturday in a Redding nursing home.

He was a member of the Redding

Historical Society and a member of the Redding Club.

He was a member of the Redding

Historical Society and a member of the Redding

Historical Society and a member of the Redding

Historical Society and a member of the Redding

## Agreeing to Keep Trying

A Soviet-American summit is not a duel. If Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev expect to wound each other in Geneva this week by force of argument or personality, they are wasting their time. Both are riding high politically and can easily start a propaganda battle about human rights or Third World revolutions. And both are shielded by bureaucracies that will protect them against making any damaging concessions.

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev meet not as gladiators but as captains of formidable military teams. The summit meeting will be a success only if they can envision new rules to restrain their rivalry. If they cannot, both lose.

The summit meetings of the past 30 years show that it is difficult but not impossible to spell out restraining rules. Rules written to manage the military confrontation in Europe have been largely successful, even in "normalizing" the awkward divisions of Germany and Berlin. The rules to limit the stockpiling of nuclear weapons have constrained the arms race — but now are being overrun by technology and suspicion. The quest for rules to demilitarize competition in the Third World has failed. Attempts to promote Soviet-American collaboration in commerce, science and culture have been futile and sterile.

The Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting thus amounts to a confession that the rule-making process has ground to a halt. Both sides have been angrily disappointed, and the reasons for this are inane.

As Mr. Reagan emphasized on the way to Geneva, Americans expect better relations with Moscow to blossom into expanding exchanges of ideas and peoples, advances for human rights and tolerance for international diversity. But to the Soviet rulers, these aims sound subversive. They prefer a controlled détente that advances the Soviet economy and ratifies their standing as an equal world power. Yet to Americans, that in turn sounds like insensitivity that they acquiesce in totalitarianism and betray freedom.

With every impulse toward agreement, therefore, have come new fears and hostilities. And the disappointments of the last decade have shown that only progress in arms control can to some extent relieve the tension. For the arms race so institutionalizes mistrust that

other issues become unnegotiable. If there is to be progress in Geneva at all, it must begin with progress toward a stand-down in arms.

The possibility lies in the symmetry of grievances. Mr. Reagan accuses the Russians of destroying the detente of the Nixon years by building ever more threatening missiles and pursuing a military advantage with which to divide and weaken the democracies. Mr. Gorbachev accuses Mr. Reagan of abandoning arms control and speeding the pace of military spending to bankrupt the Soviet Union.

Mr. Reagan's great fear has been that America's land-based missiles are becoming vulnerable to a first strike by the much larger force of Soviet land-based missiles. Unable to match this Soviet force even with a trillion-dollar defense buildup, the president finally countered in 1983 with the threat to build a "star wars" missile defense. Mr. Reagan says it is only research for a futuristic shield protecting all nations, but the Pentagon's undesignated objective, at least for this century, is a missile defense to neutralize most Russian missiles.

Surely this threat explains Mr. Gorbachev's new offer. He will greatly reduce his offensive weapons if the United States guarantees not to deploy missile defenses. If he cannot get such an accord, the Soviet leader will certainly vow this week to match Mr. Reagan weapon for weapon. But he also will proclaim a preference for an agreement that lets him shift resources to rebuilding his economy.

In its present form, the Soviet offer is unacceptably unbalanced. But it implies a bargain that should interest the president: to trade off a costly and dangerous quest for defensive weapons for the significant and stabilizing arms reductions that Americans have long advocated. If Mr. Reagan agrees, at least in principle, thus to cash in his "star wars" chips, the two leaders might be able to shake hands on an effort to negotiate in earnest until they meet again next year.

They will get no awards for accomplishment until that second meeting. But they will be judged harshly if they fail even to try.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Toward Peace in Ulster

The Irish-British accord announced Friday is the result of painstaking, high-level negotiations over Northern Ireland. The bloodshed in Ulster, the current phase of which began in 1969, has exhausted all sides: the British people, most of whom are tired of paying the financial, emotional and casualty costs of supporting an army in the province; the people of the Irish Republic who want unification but know that continued violence in the north prevents it; and the people of Northern Ireland, Protestant and Roman Catholic, who yearn for an end to the shootings and the bombings that have caused more than 2,500 deaths in the six counties.

The agreement does not change the status of Northern Ireland as a part of the United Kingdom. It does, however, create a permanent Anglo-Irish intergovernmental Conference with representatives from Britain and the Irish Republic, which will serve as a forum to deal with political, legal and security matters and encourage cross-border cooperation. Initial meetings will concentrate on relations between the armed forces and the minority community and on strengthening public confidence in the administration of justice. Eventually, the conference will consider the long-range political future of the province, though both governments agree that there will be no reunification of Ireland without major

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Opinion

### A Condition for Survival

Both superpowers have to learn that parity is not a breathing space on the way to one of the other's victory. It is the condition of the world's survival. A two-day meeting between two men [who are] already scarcely well-disposed toward each other, is not the occasion to address this fundamental problem. But potentially it is a step toward such a discussion, which will be neither easy nor quick but cannot be indefinitely postponed.

— The Observer (London).

President Reagan would be right to reject an offer from [Mikhail] Gorbachev to cut nuclear forces in return for dropping the Strategic Defense Initiative. Mr. Reagan's desire to

make the world less vulnerable to nuclear holocaust deserves rather more serious consideration than most Western commentators have already worked hard on an SDI of their own.

— The Sunday Times (London).

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev lead countries with profoundly different views of politics, economics, history and the future. For as long as anyone can foresee, they will be in competition for the hearts and minds of the rest of the world. The best that anyone could hope for from Geneva would be the faint glimmerings of ways to compete without blowing one another up.

— The Los Angeles Times.

### FROM OUR NOV. 18 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

**1910: 'Alien Gold' for Irish Home Rule**  
LONDON — The Standard says: "If it were not for the subsidizing of the Nationalists from the United States, there would not at this moment be a Constitutional crisis in the United Kingdom. When John Redmond [the Irish Nationalist Party leader] undertook his Western trip, he was told that it was useless for him ever to come to America again and ask for subscriptions until he had made Home Rule an accomplished fact. He has been made to understand that he has been given his last chance of enlisting American support. These two hundred thousand dollars are not to be melted away with nothing to show for them. Their subscribers want value for their money. Home Rule is bad enough, but Home Rule bought with alien gold is a degradation which ought to be a little much for the spirit of Englishmen."

## A Checklist For Judging Summit XIV

By William Safire

**G**ENEVA — How do you judge a summit meeting? What criteria do you use before saying, "They got more out of this in world opinion than we did," or, "We sure avoided another Yalta?"

Here in this neutral city, where parading protesters are already heaving firecrackers for peace, it is clear what the standards should not be:

1. Did the leaders get along well? They will and they won't. It is in the interest of both to say publicly that the other was tough and businesslike, while saying privately that the other is burdened by hard-line ideological hangups. To the extent that handshake photos conceal deepening differences, the personal touch can hurt.
2. Did this summit meeting, the 14th between the two countries, reduce tensions? Another phony criterion; America's purpose is not merely to reduce tension, but to get at the cause of tension. For example, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan caused President Carter to impose a grain embargo and suspend cultural ties; President Reagan lifted the embargo and now proposes to resume people-to-people visits — but the rape of the Afghan people goes on. In this case, "reduction of tension" is not a success, but an admission of the importance of impatience.

3. Was a breakthrough achieved in arms control? That was already achieved when the Russians seized "star wars" as an excuse to drop their insistence that America not respond to their deployment of new missiles aimed at Europe. The Russians are pressing to make this a pure arms-control summit meeting, seeking a major concession to perpetuate their offensive advantage.

4. Did we break the ice by getting into the agreement-signing habit? Agreements lie in diplomatic drawers to be dragged out for ceremonial signings. They range from high-sounding statements of principle to agreements to open consular offices — as if one needed a solemn occasion to learn to shake chicken Kiev.

5. Did we agree, at least, to meet again, on a regular basis? This sounds normal and sensible and is a mistake.

A summit meeting should be an acknowledgment of progress in humdrum diplomacy, and a political stimulus to bureaucrats, not an annual circus to celebrate stalemate.

Having averted false criteria, what standards can we set for success?

1. Was a connection made and accepted that behavior in one field cannot be separated from all others — in other words, old linkage triumph over arms control isolation? America cannot expect the Soviet Union to change dramatically or suppression of dissidents, expansion of espionage or export of subversion. But it can keep up the pressure at all points, rewarding progress with trade goods and dollops of détente.

2. Was the first glimmering of realism shown on arms reduction? Mr. Gorbachev's protracted denunciation of space-based defenses has provided him with the fig leaf he needed to return to the bargaining table without the removal of American Pershing-2 missiles from Europe. If he chooses to freeze on the "star wars" issue, that will demonstrate his international political weakness; but if he faces reality, the long process can resume. The measure of America's success is in its perseverance.

3. Was any damage done? Secret agreements that invited later disputes, dangerous misreadings of the will of the opposition and simple blundering have marked several parleys. The would-be healers of the world's wounds should mind the Hippocratic oath: "Do no harm."

4. Did it provide the cover for real movement? Summit meetings give leaders the chance to pretend to lessen their distrust of each other. That is why Mr. Reagan talks naively of reassuring the Russians that America means them no ill, seeming to accept the notion that Soviet expansion is rooted in fear of the United States rather than in their own desire to dominate. In the past, this has bred contempt; it is now hoped that the psychological concession will provide an opening for Mr. Gorbachev to use in the future if he wishes to reduce the Red Army's influence.

Using those criteria, this summit of sinking expectations might produce a modest gain for both sides. As I kept trying to explain to Tallyrand: Even if the world is to be a revolution in the trade relations between the two countries, the best that anyone could hope for from Geneva would be the faint glimmerings of ways to compete without blowing one another up.

— The Los Angeles Times.

## Of Aristotle, Deng and China's Productive Peasants

By Richard Critchfield

**B**EIJING — Aristotle got it right. When it came to farming, he observed of ancient Greece, you needed the stimulus of gain for hard work and the stimulus of private ownership for husbandry and care.

Deng Xiaoping's China is demonstrating these universal truths. China's grain harvest of 407 million tons last year was the world's all-time record.

The Soviet Union, still saddled with collective farms, produced just over half that much.

America, the runner-up, had a 1984 harvest of 312 million tons, one of its biggest, creating surpluses and falling prices. Mr. Deng's reformers also found themselves with more grain than they could handle. Since 1979 they had offered the peasants incentive prices for all above-quota grain surpluses and cash crops. But the money went to China's 50,000 communes — relics of Maoism and collectivized farming.

China's agricultural miracle has come since the Dengists introduced the "responsibility system" in 1981. It broke up communes as economic units and meant a return to family-sized farms for entrepreneurs who in effect rent their land.

Between 1981 and 1984, production went up

so fast the government had to pull money away from badly needed energy projects to pay for it all.

This year, peasants are getting guaranteed prices for just about 40 percent of what they grow. With a grain glut, farm incomes are down.



## Geneva: A Grand Deal to Be Made

By Stephen S. Rosefield

**W**ASHINGTON — A grand deal lies there waiting to be made at the summit meeting: a deal that would make everything else look a bit easier. It involves keeping work on strategic defense within bounds of treaty and research and planning deep cuts in strategic offense. It glimmers on the horizon at Geneva.

It may still be glimmering after Geneva. The Russians are going into the summit meeting in a state of hard, hysterical bargaining mode that costs them dearly on the missiles in Europe, where everyone later could see how overwrought and artificial their hysteria had been. And it seems that the value of such a grand deal is still in contention in President Reagan's mind and among his aides.

So there is real drama over what will come out of the summit talks.

Attention inevitably has fixed upon the two leaders' personalities and public stances. Mr. Gorbachev has been playing good cop, bad cop: first earnest and peace-seeking, then pushy and "Russian." Mr. Reagan is being scrutinized for his alertness and command of his brief; critics also question his capacity to stand up to the suspected battering he may receive from the vigorous and perhaps somewhat mean new Kremlin leader.

Still, on the American side, there are some surprises. It is not news that American liberals are troubled by the familiar rigidities of the president's political style. Even in that quarter, however, there is an expectation of — certainly a hunger for — honest dialogue between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev. This is based on appreciation of the president's honesty and

conducive to a broad political understanding, if the two leaders can lift their sights and take a long view.

A pessimist would point to the newness in office and the evident independence of Mikhail Gorbachev, and to the seemingly boundless faith that Ronald Reagan shows in the correctness of his own economic policy and in the automatic advantage of the American system. The conclusion would have to be that it does not much matter that each is in a bind.

An optimist would take a restrained cheer in the condition of hard-earned stalemate that marks most of the regional disputes where the two countries are engaged. Theoretically, stalemate could translate into a tacit, gradual diminution of the scale of exertion on both sides.

The president had hoped to go to Geneva riding the crest of a wave of confidence created by his restoration of American pride and power over the last five years. Instead, he is caught in a wave of frustration created by his decimation of the integrity of the nation's budget.

Moscow was supposed to be feeling a cautionary economic squeeze on its military spending and, beyond that, a systematic squeeze on its fitness for technological competition. Perhaps it is feeling a squeeze, quietly. But the budget crisis that has overtaken Mr. Reagan conspicuously, just as he heads to Geneva threatening to take a big bite out of his own military plans.

An optimist might say that there has been established precisely the condition of mutual and somewhat balanced vulnerability that is most conducive to the logic of deterrence.

— The Washington Post.

## Defining Success at The Summit

By William G. Hyland

**N**EW YORK — If past summit meetings are any guide, judging what constitutes success may not be so easy this week. It is notoriously difficult to score a summit. The same two questions always arise: Did the leaders get along? Who won the propaganda battle? But the answers do not necessarily tell much about the meeting's substance or lasting effects.

Presidents often exaggerate the focus on personality and propaganda; their careers have been built on their personalities and powers of persuasion. Roosevelt prided himself on his ability to convince even the ruthless Stalin could be converted into Uncle Joe. In this narrow sense, the Yalta conference in 1945 succeeded: Roosevelt and Stalin seemed to get along, if largely at Churchill's expense.

So when Stalin died, it was natural for President Eisenhower would want to sit down with Nikita Khrushchev. The Geneva meeting in 1955 was hailed as a "fresh start." It was, in effect, a propaganda triumph.

But the meeting did not provide a grand strategy or a framework for superpower relations. The "spirit of Geneva" was born in 1955, but all hell broke loose thereafter — the Hungarian revolution, the Suez crisis, and, in 1958, Mr. Khrushchev's demand that the West get out of Berlin.

The 1955 meeting did lead to Mr. Eisenhower's U.S. visit in 1959, but by the following spring he was being roundly attacked when he declined one last meeting with the Soviet leader. Yet 25 years later, the Eisenhower's reputation grows and Mr. Khrushchev is a nonperson. So propaganda victories are not quite enough.

Much the same thing happened in 1961 when President Kennedy met Mr. Khrushchev in Vienna. The president and Mrs. Kennedy easily won the popularity contest. But Mr. Khrushchev, clutchingly refused to concede defeat. He put up the Berlin Wall and put missiles in Cuba. He had argued with in Vienna, and so he almost produced a war.

President Johnson never had a full-fledged summit conference. He met with the second team, headed by Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin, in New Jersey. Yet this meeting marginalized the strategic arms talks that have been the centerpiece of all subsequent summit meetings. So it is mistake to judge summit talks by the point and circumstance.

No, do personal relations prevent nations from acting in their own interests. Both President Ford and President Carter got along well with Leonid Brezhnev. But months after Mr. Carter met Mr. Brezhnev in Vienna, the Russians invaded Afghanistan. Mr. Carter withdrew the treaty he had signed with Mr. Brezhnev, stopped grain sales, and initiated a U.S. boycott of the Moscow Olympics. This did not stop Mr. Brezhnev from proposing another summit meeting with Ronald Reagan.

So what should we expect to happen this week in Geneva? Neither is likely to score a propaganda victory. Mr. Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev probably will get along fairly well. But in a year it will not matter much. If Soviet leaders do not trust their own "comrades," imagine how they regard foreign leaders.

Judging the private discussions is difficult. There is little to be gained by ideological debates. Soviet leaders have not ascended to the pinnacle of Soviet politics only to be converted by an American president. Debating Soviet misconduct is necessary, but in general there is no way to bridge the perceptions gap in just two days.

Some progress is possible on concrete issues. Soviet leaders are not totally free agents, but they can make decisions. A joint statement of principles on future arms control negotiations would be a welcome step.

The final score will be posted in about a year. President Reagan is probably right in calling this meeting a chance for a fresh start. But a fresh start has to be followed by more than just a pleasant atmosphere.

Summit meetings have their advantages. They force the pace of decision-making in Moscow, and they create a political momentum that is not easy to reverse — on either side. This makes the second summit meeting as important as the first, probably more so. So, next year in Geneva.

The writer, editor of the journal Foreign Affairs, contributed this comment to The New York Times.

### LETTERS

#### Two Views From Sofia

Upon my return from Sofia, where I attended from beginning to end the General Assembly of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the report "Soviet Head to John West Against UNESCO Head" (Nov. 9) was brought to my attention.

I find therein a grave deformation of the ambience that prevailed during the conference.

The article's author, Paul Lewis of The New York Times, says that much of the time was taken up by "strenuous criticism of the U.S. withdrawal by the Soviet Union and its Third World allies, coupled with attempts to punish the United States for leaving."

But my reading was that the Soviet Union and its "Third World allies" kept a low profile throughout the conference with respect to U.S. withdrawal. The South Koreans did it in a single decade, 1970 to 1980.

ADVERTISING SECTION

ADVERTISING SECTION



# ARAB AIRWAYS AND TRAVEL

Arab carriers now form an increasingly influential bloc within the International Air Transport Association and showed an overall profit last year for the first time since 1978. European and Far East routes help to increase both business and travel markets.

## Heavy Gulf and International Air Traffic Helps Boost Profits

While air traffic to and from the Middle East continues to prosper at higher levels in general than in the rest of the world, the Arab airlines have their difficulties. Chief among these is the erosion of their profits by what are seen as the predatory actions of non-Arab airlines operating in what has been the traditional stop-over on routes between Europe and the Far East. Some of these airlines use these stop-overs to fill their empty seats and cargo holds by discounting fares and rates well below those agreed on by the airline industry, its representative bodies and the overseeing governments.

This problem dominated the discussion at the most recent meeting of the Arab Air Carriers' Organization (AACO), and the organization's director, General Amer Sharif, estimated losses from discounting at 10 percent of the Arab airlines' revenues. As these total around \$5 billion in an average year, the leakage, according to Sharif's calculations, could be as high as \$500 million. The meeting called for more stringent policing by the Arab governments of their airlines' interests, and a subsequent meeting of the AACO-Arab Civil Aviation Council reinforced that view.

The Arab airlines now carry some 30 million passengers each year, and their productivity is gradually improving. Around half of their total traffic is carried within the Gulf area, and there is concern that, as shown by the latest International Air Transport Association (IATA) figures, business within the Middle East showed a fall in 1984. Passenger kilometers flown were down 1.6 percent, and freight and mail ton/kilometers fell by 2.5 percent.

On the routes between the Middle East and Europe passenger business was up 6 percent and freight by 10.3 percent, and between the Middle East and the Far East by 10.6 percent and 16.5 percent respectively. Between the Middle East and Africa, passenger business was down by 5.6 percent, but freight showed an increase of 4.5 percent.

IATA member airlines, of which the Arab carriers now form an

increasingly influential bloc, generally did well during 1984, achieving positive results for the first time since 1978, according to the director-general of the association, Gunter Eser. On revenues approaching \$40 billion, the operating results of the members before interest charges was \$2.2 billion. After net interest charges of \$1.7 billion, the net result was \$500 million, or 1.3 percent of revenues.

Eser pointed out that although these were the best results for several years, they were well below the levels required to finance the industry in the future. It is estimated that the IATA airlines in general, and the Arab carriers in particular, will need to acquire a grand total of 4,000 aircraft by 1993, about 1,800 of them to replace existing units. With spares and other fixed assets, the investment should total between \$150 billion and \$200 billion, including some \$100 billion for international scheduled services.

The need to increase revenues, which are under constant and increasing pressure from discounting, rising costs for materials and labor and calls from passengers and freight shippers for lower fares and rates are further major worries for the carriers.

Arab airlines are also concerned by the recent starting up of Emirates airline, based in Dubai, with scheduled flights to Kuwait, Karachi and New Delhi, and with plans for further services to, among others, Colombo, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman. Pakistan International, New Zealand Airways and the British airline Britannia are among those prepared to offer the new airline technical and managerial assistance. Several established airlines in the Gulf area derive considerable revenue from operating through Dubai, and the advent of a newcomer that could compete strongly for such income must be bad news for them.

In general, though, the Arab carriers continue to cooperate through the AACO, IATA or ICAO, the United Nations aviation body. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has recently promoted a greater level of accord between Gulf Air, Kuwait Airways and



A Saudi Airbus A300 takes to the skies. The airline is taking delivery of 11 of these aircraft which are manufactured by the European Airbus Industrie. The A300 seats 250 and is one of a family of aircraft whose range and capacity varies according to the seating configuration and powerplants. Below, another version of the aircraft, the A320, which is for short to medium range and will carry 150 passengers. It is due to come into service in 1987.



Saudia, forming an executive committee of senior governmental and airline people and increasing flights between the capital cities of the GCC countries. A common ticket cover and a unified GCC timetable have also been established to facilitate the exchange of airline documents within the GCC countries.

The Arab airlines are estimated to handle about 7 percent of total international traffic today, compared with 2 percent two decades ago, and the region has its share of high fliers. Saudia is the classic example. This airline began with one DC-3 at the end of World War II and now has over 23,000 employees and a sizable fleet of the most modern airliners, in the introduction of which it has become renowned as a world leader.

Saudia was selected for special commendation by Gunter Eser, as was Yemenia, which he congratulated on its financial turnaround. Other carriers in the region that continue to do well are Kuwait Airways, which Eser commended for its sophisticated training facilities, and Gulf Air, now preparing to become 49 percent privately owned within the next six months. Privatization is becoming a trend in the airline industry, and the rest of the airlines in the Middle East will be watching Gulf Air's experience with keen interest.

## A Vital Market for Aerospace Industry

According to the Boeing Co., there are 21 airlines in the Middle East that operate their jet airliners. The other major aircraft manufacturers in both the United States and Europe have an equally buoyant sales story to tell. Taking into consideration the large number of executive aircraft based there, ranging in size from the eight-seat British Aerospace 125 to the Boeing 747 jumbo, it is apparent that the region is an extremely important market for the world aerospace industry.

The aircraft makers have not been slow to exploit this potential, and they have found willing purchasers among the Middle Eastern airlines who early on saw the advantages of wide-bodied airliners, the high technology they contain and the economical and quiet engines powering them.

As a result, there are no fewer than 38 Boeing 747s owned by the region's airlines. The very advanced Boeing 767 has also begun to enter service there, and Saudia was the first airline in the world to introduce the European Airbus Industrie A300-600 with its futuristic digitalized cockpit operated by a crew of only two.

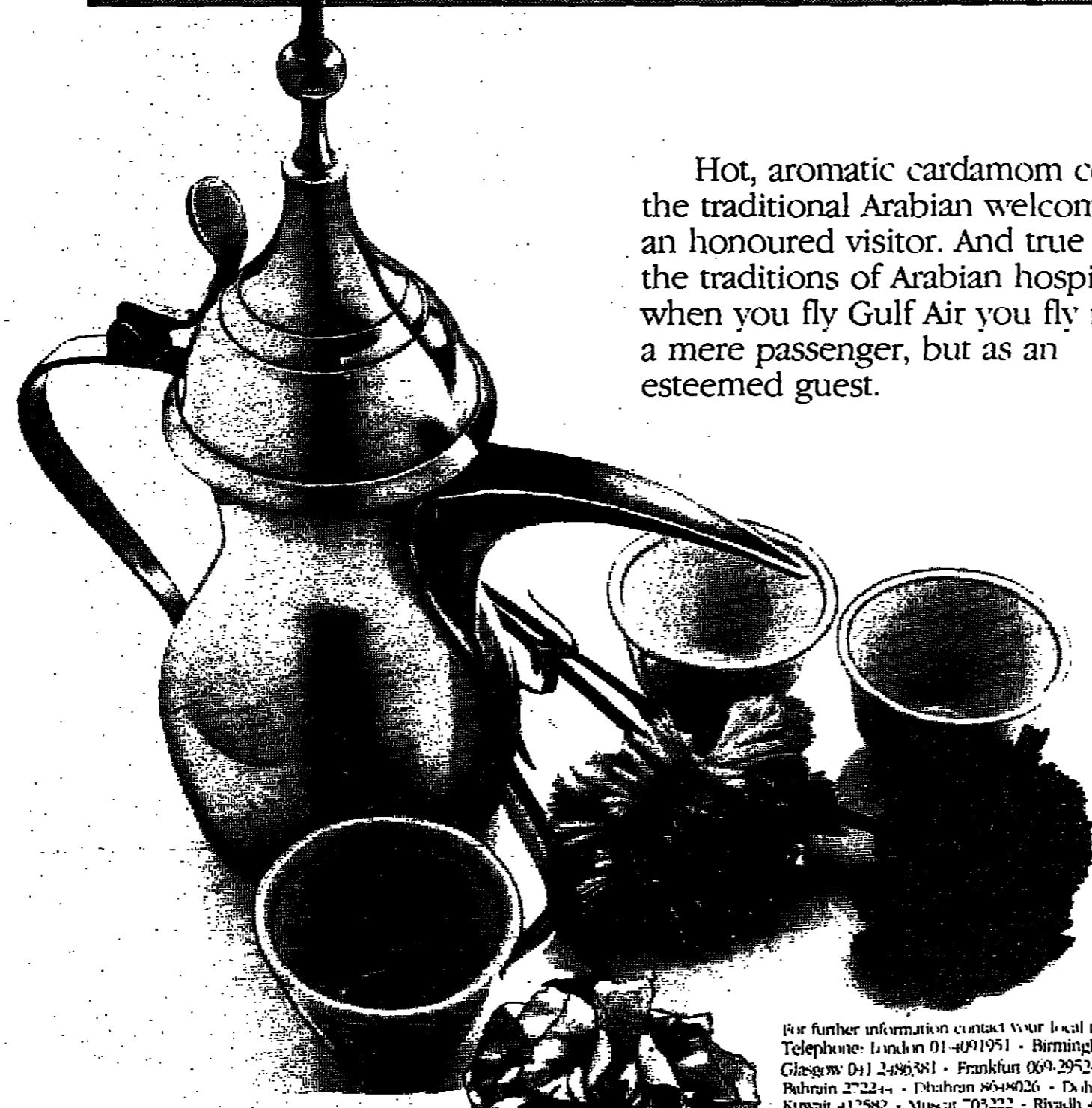
Continued on next page.

Most of the airlines in the area admit, however, that even with the Gulf Cooperation Council too many of their flights fail to connect with each other, with the result that valuable traffic and income is lost to the non-Arab airlines serving the region. The AACO scheduling committee has been inquiring into these disparities, and is to make recommendations to the member airlines on how their flights might be better meshed.

But the Arab airlines have to accept that they will always compete with outsiders because the region is one of the great aviation crossroads of the world, because its building program of the 1970s produced some of the world's best and most advanced airports, and because of the rich commercial pickings it offers. Although the earlier petrochemical and construction booms have now subsided, the Middle East remains one of the great international targets for exporters of all nations, while its regular migrations of foreign workers, teachers and pilgrims fill hundreds of thousands of airline seats that would otherwise fly empty.

Writer Arthur Reed is European Editor of *Air Transport World*.

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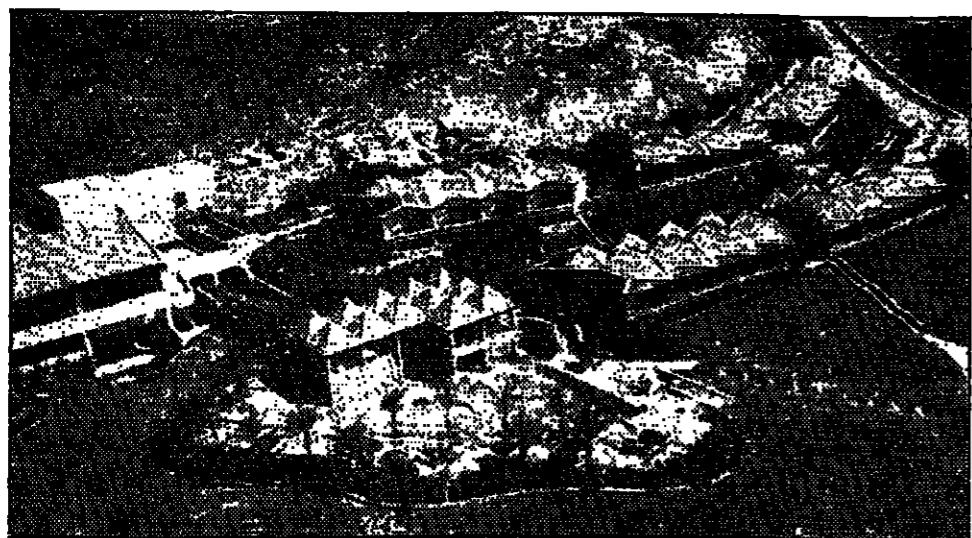
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Hatta Fort Hotel at the foot of the Hajar Mountains in the United Arab Emirates.

## Hotels Now Offer Updated Welcome

The rigors of travel in the Arab world may have eased for the business person, but the region still has the habit of throwing the unexpected in the path of even the most seasoned visitor.

Michael McFadden, general manager of the Gulf Hotel in Muscat, Oman, who has been in the Gulf since 1968 recalls: "In Kuwait in those days, all you wanted was a bed. You had to accept that you went into a room with two beds, and in the middle of the night a stranger would arrive to share it."

The 1960s were a hotelier's dream as far as occupancy rates were concerned—usually more than 100 percent—although that could also turn into a nightmare if the government suddenly decided to commandeer a hotel for a state function,

putting guests out onto the streets.

In contrast with even five years ago, the business traveler is now totally spoiled for choice in most of the Gulf states and in the Arab world in general. This is the result of the arrival since the mid-1970s of nearly all the major international hotel franchise operators: Sheraton, Marriott, Inter-Continental, Hilton, Hyatt, Holiday Inn, Ramada, Meridien and other smaller groups often with only one or two hotels.

The independents are not to be overlooked, since they often offer better value for the traveler on a tight budget. In Bahrain, considered the holiday center of the Gulf, the smaller hotels in Manama are doing a roaring trade with Saudi holidaymakers and also with visiting

salesmen who don't care about king-sized beds or private minibars, but prefer no-frills service. Haggling over which room discount applies is still the order of the day. No one walks into a hotel and pays the full rate. Corporate rates, company discounts or just plain discounts are the rule, but they should be negotiated in advance, preferably by a local agent or sponsor who will usually want to direct a guest to a property where he has influence.

Eating in one's hotel has become more interesting, with many Gulf hotels trying for originality in theme restaurants. The Japanese restaurant at the Bahrain Hilton, the Italian trattoria and coffee bar at the Hyatt Regency in Riyadh and the pool-side facilities at

the Jebel Ali Hotel outside Dubai are all worth trying as an alternative to room service, since staying in reach of the telephone is often a priority in Arab countries where business does not follow strict office hours.

Outside catering contracts help the hotels make money from their kitchens and bakeries, but genuinely high levels of cuisine are available.

Facilities at hotels have also changed out of all recognition during the last five years. In addition to in-house video, swimming pools and health clubs there are now bowling alleys and a variety of beach sports, from underwater diving to windsurfing and dinghy sailing.

Unless the visitor has local contacts in Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Kuwait he is likely to spend a lot of time in his own company in the hotel, usually meaning a limited diet of in-house video movies on television and trips to the pool or health club.

McFadden is a keen tennis player and has introduced tennis and squash facilities at the Gulf Hotel in Qurum, an innovation that is typical of the older generation of properties now updating their facilities.

At the Regency Inter-Continental in Bahrain, the most centrally located of Manama's top four hotels, new investment is going into a tower block to put more accent on leisure attractions, including Ramadan and the Haj pilgrimage, take place.

These are now moving up earlier in the year, but still fall in the hot weather season from April to September.

Most travelers visit the Gulf in the autumn or spring, avoiding the hot summer months when Gulf nationals travel and religious events of significance, including Ramadan and the Haj pilgrimage, take place. These are now moving up earlier in the year, but still fall in the hot weather season from April to September.

A recent change in the Middle East hotel trade has been the emphasis placed on attracting the Arab traveler. Visitors from the industrialized countries are still welcome—and are the bread and butter of the business—but the marketing drive

is passing battered cab. The chances are the driver will speak only Arabic or, if he knows English, will be unlikely to recognize street names in English. But these days in Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Kuwait it is the practice for the principal hotels to offer a limousine service, usually in connection with a leading car rental company such as Avis, complete with drivers who know the cities backward and forward. Some hotels, like the Marriott chain, offer free Hertz car rentals and other services if guests book a certain number of nights.

A stay at the Inter-Continental Hotel in Muscat is likely to cost \$105 a night, depending on what discount can be negotiated, but a more modest hotel in the same city would be the Ruwi at \$75 a night for a single.

At the Holiday Inn in Bahrain a single room would cost about the same as at the Ruwi, while the Diplomat Hotel, part of the Trusthouse Forte's Middle East chain, would cost just over \$100 a night. Hotel charges are still high in the Middle East because of high overhead and staff costs and the cyclical nature of business.

The business of arranging appointments has always been a subtle procedure in the Middle East, but now it is even more so. An appointment made by telex to meet a minister is often regarded as an invitation for a meeting rather than an actual time and place for an interview.

Top people in the Gulf are well protected by screening procedures, although the system usually works in favor of the persistent.

## A Vital Market

Continued from previous page.

Lockheed TriStar, the McDonnell Douglas DC-10 and the earlier versions of the Boeing 747. As these aircraft age they are becoming more costly to service and maintain as well as outmoded by newer technology, including advances in computerization and materials, particularly composites in airframe manufacture.

Lockheed has now closed its civil aircraft production line, but three big companies: Airbus, McDonnell Douglas and Boeing, are in competition for what will be a rich crop of orders from the region in the near future.

The Arab Air Carriers' Organization's figures indicate this need. The association forecasts that during the next decade the annual growth in the number of Middle East passengers will average 7.3 percent, which is 0.8 percent greater than world airline growth, while that for cargo will be 6.2 percent. The figures were calculated on all routes within the region and on all international routes to and from the Middle East.

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## Rediscovery of Islamic Heritage

There are few regions of the world that offer as spectacular a heritage as the Middle East. From the splendors of classical Egypt, with the unforgettable sight of the great temple of Abu Simbel in the glow of an early morning sunrise, to the crumbling relic of what might have been the Queen of Sheba's main export harbor for myrrh in southern Oman, this area is rich in both past and present glories.

"Wars may come and go, but tourism goes on for ever" was the firm conviction of one director of tourism in Egypt, the country which has perhaps more than others in the Arab world made a real industry out of tourism.

From the Pyramids to Luxor to floating palaces on the Nile to the ruins at Aswan, there is indeed nothing quite like Egypt for viewing and reliving the past.

But there are plenty of other archaeological treasures to be found in the Arab world, which as a whole is becoming more conscious of its past. Although some of the countries, notably Syria and Oman, are not always easy to enter because of visa restrictions, they both offer a wealth of heritage to the discerning visitor. Jordan, with its celebrated "Rose-red" Petra carved out of the rock, has few hang-ups about letting the world see a little of its history. Just outside Amman, the capital, great efforts are being made to reveal the true splendor of Jerash.

Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the great classical sights of Syria, which undoubtedly has one of the richest patrimonies in the Arab world, ranging from the almost Holly-wood-style Krak des Chevaliers, one of the most magnificent of Crusader castles, to the ruins at Palmyra.

During the next two years a touring exhibition of Syrian culture is visiting museums throughout the United States. It has just opened in Baltimore and includes items from museums in Aleppo, Damascus, Deir ez Zor and Palmyra. Most of the objects have been discovered

erected in the last 30 years and trace the melding of Roman, Hellenistic, Aramaean and Arab cultures.

Across the Gulf from Syria the past is coming more and more into view as many of the Gulf countries realize the natural potential they have on their hands.

Ten years ago, anything that might be described as a museum would often consist of a few fading photographs, a box of crumbling pearls or a decaying fishing boat or two. Now all that has changed.

Kuwait, as might be expected, has one of the finest museums of Islamic pieces anywhere in the world. No expense has been spared to gather together some of the richest objets d'art, ranging from intricately carved door frames and screens to magnificent carpets and illuminated manuscripts. The displays and lighting match anything to be found in North America or Europe.

On a much smaller scale is the museum in Dubai, where a former fort has been opened as an informative cultural center. Here the traditions of the Gulf can be seen, from a typical red house to early marine relics.

There are similar but more modern museums in Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, where increasing efforts are being made to preserve something of the past.

Syria is not the only country with a wealth of forts. Many of a later period mark the trail of some of the original European trail blazers to the Arab world—the Portuguese. After virtually circumnavigating the Strait of Hormuz and into the Gulf. Everywhere they stopped they left behind elaborate castles guarding sheltered creeks and harbors. Two of the most spectacular, now restored, are the twin forts at Muscat. There are also several smaller ones inland where Portuguese troops and traders ventured into unknown Arabia.

One of the newest tourist destinations is without a doubt



One of the old Portuguese forts, now restored, guarding the harbor at Muscat. On the right is the Sultan's Palace.



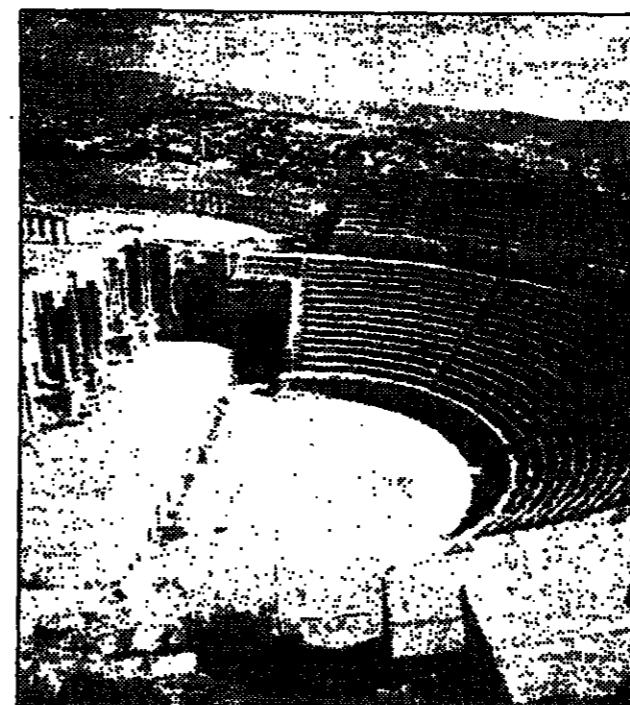
Kuwait's museum houses a fine collection of Islamic art.

North Yemen, where the feeling of the true Arabia is perhaps at its best. So far modern tourism has not really come to this area although the government, through its airline, Yemenia, and the Yemen Arab Tourism Agency, is now hoping to attract more visitors. North Yemen, with its ancient buildings and dramatic views, is like a time capsule where it is still possible to experience the sights and sounds of a bygone era.

Mud-brick buildings stand upon each other in zigzag fashion, each house giving

support to its neighbor or forming the foundation for a smaller dwelling on top. There are highly ornate fortresses built almost impossible on top of pinnacles of rock and plenty of relics from past invaders who have left footprints in history throughout the land as well as much evidence of pre-Islamic times.

All this can be seen from the comparative comfort of several new Western-style hotels, including the Sheraton, the Ramada, the Taj Sheba (one of the India Taj Group's finest hotels), the Al-Hamad Palace



The splendid Roman theater at Jerash in Jordan.

(once the home of the Imam) and many others.

Sadly, much of the splendor that was Arabia is being, or in most cases has already been, swept away in the course of progress. The once ubiquitous wind towers of cities like Dubai and Muscat are nearly all gone. These were a primitive form of air conditioning which had great practical value. Efforts are being made to preserve the few of them that still remain.

In Saudi Arabia's Red Sea port of Jeddah, the mayor has made a valiant effort to preserve part of the old city with its tiled

alleyways and carved overhanging balconies.

Ironically, now that the great tide of modernization in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf countries has all but eliminated relics of the past there has been a reawakening of interest in the Arabic cultural tradition. Much of this part of the world was the leading center of civilization in early medieval times, a fact often overlooked by the casual visitor who, if given time and encouragement, can learn much from the many new museums displaying treasures from the past.

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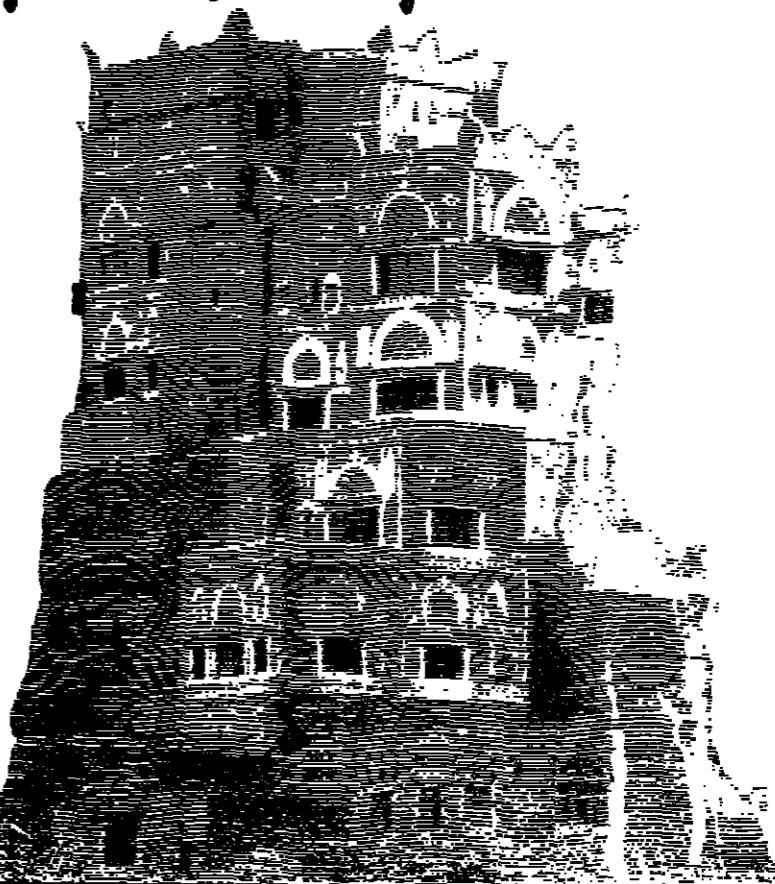
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## The Airport Building Boom Continues

In spite of a downturn in oil prices and a construction-led industrial recession in the Middle East, airport development in the region continues apace. Passenger and cargo traffic are growing, governments continue to see air transport as one of the most efficient ways of uniting the often far-flung corners of their countries, and a national air carrier with an expanding network remains an essential mark of progress.

Consequently, according to the annual publication *Arab Transport and Shipping*, some 40 percent of world airport building and improvement in the second half of this decade is expected to take place in the Arab world.

Admittedly, airport development is a little more subdued than in the late 1970s. Time was when you could scarcely open a newspaper in the Arab world without reading of some vast new airport project. At the turn of the decade a rash of stunning new international airports began with Kuwait in 1978, the Abu Dhabi International Airport (Nida) in 1982, the Queen Alia Airport in Jordan in 1985 and the \$800-million Saddam Hussein International Airport in Baghdad, also in 1983. Topping them all were the \$5-billion King Abdul Aziz International Airport in Jeddah in May 1981 and its sister facility, the King Khaled International Airport, in Riyadh in December 1983.

The Jeddah and Riyadh airports are two of the three airports conceived under Saudi Arabia's International Airports Project. The other is a \$2.18-billion replacement for the existing Dhahran airport originally built as a military base in the mid-1940s. It was upgraded to accommodate increasing passenger and cargo traffic in 1980.

Completion of the first phase of the King Fahd Eastern Province Airport remains one of the main objectives of Saudi Arabia's recently elaborated Fourth Five-Year Development Plan 1985-90.

With two 4,000-meter runways, the new airport is expected to serve seven million passengers a year by 1992, rising to 12 million by the year 2000, when Riyadh should be coping with 15 million and Jeddah with 17 million.

These compare with 1983 figures of 4.3 million at Dhahran, 6.6 million at Riyadh and 8.1 million at Jeddah. Total domestic and international passenger traffic at the three was up 6.4 percent in 1983 over the previous year, and cargo traffic was up 26.9 percent.

Already, over the past year, contracts have been awarded to a clutch of local firms to upgrade 10 regional airports. Al-Namal Trading and Contracting is to carry out runway improvements valued at \$7 million at Qurayyir, while Tamimi & Fouad have a \$8.7-million contract to extend the runway at Raffah in order to accommodate Boeing 737s.

Meanwhile, general airport facilities in Saudi Arabia are likely to be improved as a result of joint ventures set up alongside Boeing's \$1.2-billion Peace Shield air and ground defense program. For example, the largest of four projects anticipated by the Boeing International Industrial Technology Group involves a \$500-million aircraft modification center to be built with partners including Saudia, the national airline.

In neighboring Bahrain, a consortium of U.K. consultants led by Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick and Partners this year won the design and supervision contract for a \$50-million plan to expand the island's international airport. Work has already started on resurfacing the main runway and on a new freight terminal. Contracts to refurbish the existing passenger terminal and to construct an additional one will be bid on over the next 12 months. The two terminals will allow one to be used for arrivals and another for departures, thus reducing the security risk posed by transit travelers.

Further down the Gulf, Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick is also the consulting engineer on the United Arab Emirates' largest ongoing airport development at Al Ain, where the construction of earthworks is almost complete. This air show is the first event of its kind to be held in Dubai. It is being staged with the support of the Department of Civil Aviation at the Dubai International Trade Center between February 16-20 next year. Already more than 200 companies from 20 countries have booked space in the new exhibition hall at the Trade Center. The exhibition is coinciding with a two-day conference organized by the Middle East Economic Digest of London.

pic and where Joannou & Partners won a \$60-million contract in July for the main civil works.

Airport development in North Africa is more sporadic. Libya's ambitious program in this sector has been held back by financial difficulties, though the International Airports Authority of India still claims to have much work in prospect there and in Algeria.

Tunisia is set to build a new \$15-million airport to serve its tourist industry in Tabarka on the northern coast near Algeria.

The project is being financed by Saudi Arabia and designed by British Airports International which, with Aeropar de Paris, Naco (of the Netherlands) and Flughafen Frankfurt, are the main European airport managers and consultants working in the area.

In general, says Bill Sterling, the partner responsible for the Middle East at Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick: "Although it won't be up to the levels of five to 10 years ago, there is still going to be a reasonable amount of work on airport development, especially in the Gulf states."

"Governments are realizing the airlines will go to airports which offer the best service in terms of cost of fuel, efficiency of turnaround and passenger facilities."

"As this sort of message filters through, Arab airports may well be better planned and a better value for money in the future."

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## Gulf Air Partial Privatization Move

Formed in March 1950 with equal shareholding by Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates since April 1974, Gulf Air is now the second-biggest airline in the Arab world. It is also the most profitable, according to its chairman, Salim bin Nasser al-Bussidi.

The airline has an all-jet fleet consisting of Boeing 747, Boeing 737 and Lockheed TriStar aircraft and operates a wide network of scheduled services both within the region and as far afield as London and Hong Kong.

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"Governments are realizing the airlines will go to airports which offer the best service in terms of cost of fuel, efficiency of turnaround and passenger facilities."

"As this sort of message filters through, Arab airports may well be better planned and a better value for money in the future."

probably within the next six months. It is expected that only Gulf nationals will be allowed to buy the shares, which will be split into denominations small enough to encourage wide distribution. Gulf Air's board is being advised on this move by the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York and the Gulf International Bank of Manama, where the airline has its main operating base.

Recent profits make Gulf Air a reasonably attractive proposition for potential private investors. It is a "lean" airline, with staff productivity high by the standards of some of the other Arab airlines and increasing at the rate of around 9 percent a year. Figures show that 1984 was its sixth consecutive year in the black, with a profit of \$47.5 million on revenues of \$624.8 million (compared with \$50.9 million and \$574.7 million in 1983). The airline served 29 cities in 1984, carried three million passengers (16 percent up), and handled record volumes of freight.

But, as the chairman pointed out in his annual report for 1984, the additional passengers carried during the year did not result in any greatly increased revenue, largely because of a drop in yield that was attributed to fare competition and currency devaluation in the air-

line's most important markets.

Three factors that could have a serious impact on future profitability are a long-running dispute between Pakistan International Airlines over traffic rights between Karachi and the Gulf, the setting up of a new air company in Dubai, Emirates airline, with a possible impact on Gulf Air's traditional high-revenue business service to Pakistan and India, and the price war that rumbles on among all the airlines in the area and which dilutes the yield from their operations.

Gulf Air's Bahrain budget includes a sum of \$52.7 million for 1986/87 for a new airport terminal; while work began last year on a \$6.6 million freight terminal. When the enormous investment in new aircraft and new buildings is taken into account, it can be seen that the airline's finances will come under severe strain in the years to come, with the result that earnings could suffer.

In the meantime, Gulf Air safeguards its reputation as one of the most innovative of the Arab airlines with the introduction of modern management technologies and computerization. Its chief executive, Ali Ibrahim al-Malki, has recently carried out a significant restruc-

turing of the company's management, which enables senior executives to concentrate more on planning for the longer term while leaving divisional executives to run the airline on a day-to-day basis.

The program also established an additional three divisions covering airline services, airline operations and corporate planning, the whole devised with a view toward making Gulf Air even leaner than it is today. At the same time the company is pursuing its policy of Gulf-ization of its staff, with the result that 100 percent of its leading management posts are now filled by Gulf nationals and 53 percent of headquarters workers are also locals. Staff recruitment has been kept to a minimum in an effort to keep rising costs at a manageable level. During 1984 there was only a 9.8 percent increase in the work force even though traffic went up by 24.8 percent.

Gulf Air is working more closely, through the Gulf Cooperation Council, with fellow council members Saudi and Kuwait Airways, but is reportedly having difficulty convincing them of the advantages that might flow from a spread of privatization in the Gulf and particularly from the establishment of a number of small regional airlines.

AR

## Dubai's Duty-Free Shop

There are not many duty-free shops in the world where you can buy almost anything from a deluxe combat jacket to a bar of gold.

But that's part of the choice offered at the duty-free shopping complex at Dubai International Airport. The duty-free shop there are now among the fastest growing at any airport in the world.

This year, according to Mohi-din Abdul Kader Binbendi, the young director-general of the Dubai Department of Civil Aviation, sales are expected to exceed \$22 million. Situated at the crossroads of international air traffic between Europe and the Far East, Dubai is ideally placed to take advan-

tage of both departing and transiting passengers.

Last year the total number of passengers passing through the airport was just over 3.6 million—an average of nearly 10,000 a day, making Dubai one of the busiest airports in the Gulf. Binbendi expects the airport to be handling up to 5 million passengers annually by the 1990s, and plans for further extensions to the airport are in the works.

More than 45 airlines use the airport, and there are well over 100 daily traffic movements. Just over a year ago work started on a new Arrivals terminal, expected to open in the late spring of next year.

There will also be a special

duty-free shopping center for arriving passengers, who will be able to make selected purchases of duty-free goods. There are only one or two other airports in the world with a similar system.

It is hoped that shopping off for duty-free shopping at Dubai, whose slogan is "Fly buy Dubai," will become a must for the business traveler and tourist. The center comprises 24 individual shops, covering an area of 22,000 square feet (1,980 square meters). Goods on sale cover an extremely wide range of merchandise and come from all over the world.

There is a profusion of audio and video tapes, clocks and watches, electronic goods, perfume, cosmetics, leather goods, and so on. Some airports have made determined efforts to make their departure lounges more comfortable and attractive—Bahrain is a good example—and have also created displays of watches, electronic goods, perfume, cosmetics, leather goods, and so on.

Last Week's

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13  
JULIE 1985

## New Eurobond Issues

Compiled by Nicole Baruch from information supplied by European bond traders.

Issuer	Amount (millions)	Mat.	Coup.	Price	Price and week	Terms
<b>DATING RATE NOTES</b>						
n Donske windbank	\$60	2000	14	100	99.65	Over 4-month Libor. Callable at par after 1991 and redeemable at par in 1997. Fees 0.70%.
spire of America	\$125	1995	16	100	99.75	Over 6-month Libor. Callable at par after 1986. Backed by home-mortgage loans and U.S. government securities. Fees 0.40%. Denominations \$100,000.
undai Engineering Construction	\$100	1997	14-16	100	98.12	Over 6-month Libor. 1/4 point for 4 years, 5/16 for 4 years, and 7/8 point for 4 years. Callable at par in 1989 and 1993. Fees 1.00%. Denominations \$50,000.
upon Credit Bank	\$100	1995	16	100	99.30	Over 1-month Libor. Maximum coupon 12%. Noncallable. Fees 0.35%. Denominations \$10,000 and \$250,000.
Malaysia	DM1,200	2005	0.10	100	99.32	Over 3-month mark Libor. Callable at par after 1990. Fees 0.60%. Denominations DM10,000.
New Zealand	\$100	1997	1/16	100	99.35	Over 3-month Libor. Callable at par in 1990. Fees 0.35%. Denominations \$50,000.
<b>XED-COUPON</b>						
ique Nationale de pris	\$100	1990	94	1004	97.37	Callable at par after 1988. Also 100,000 warrants, priced at \$10 each, exercisable for 100 shares of stock after 1990. Last year can be exchanged with warrants plus bond held during the first 3 years, then with warrants and cash. Warrants ended the week at \$16.
hwest Properties	\$200	1992	104	100%	97.25	Noncallable.
ount Isa Finance	\$100	1995	11	100	97.50	Noncallable.
andinavian Airlines system	\$150	1995	10%	100	96.87	Noncallable.
esiba	\$100	1995	10%	1014	99.25	Noncallable.
ustralia	DM150	1990	6%	100	99.50	Noncallable private placement.
gium	DM200	1992	6%	100	—	Noncallable private placement.
Joint Finance	DM100	1997	7	100	97.37	Scaling fund to start in 1996 will produce a 115-year average life.
Joint Finance	DM150	2000	zero	364	35.12	Noncallable.
LV, Amer	ESO	1993	11	1004	97.65	Noncallable.
onink Nederland	DM75	1990	7	99%	—	Noncallable private placement.
Remy Martin	FF250	1990	10%	1004	99.75	Noncallable.
inance for Danish industry	DK300	1992	9%	100	98.00	Noncallable.
utelsat*	ECU50	1993	9	100%	99.37	Noncallable. Scaling fund to start in 1989 will produce a 5-year average life. "carries for European Telecommunications Satellite Organization."
icfin*	ECU75	1990	8%	100	99.00	Noncallable. "acronym for Victorian Public Authorities Finance Agency."
Sac Metropolitan	CS50	1995	10%	1004	98.75	Noncallable.
<b>WARRANTS</b>						
ibro-Solomon	\$0.15	1988	—	\$16	—	Each warrant is exercisable of 101% into a \$1,000 note of U.S. Treasury's 9% of 1990.
<b>QUOTED-LINKED</b>						
BC Finance	\$100	1992	5%	100	104	Noncallable. Each \$5,000 bond with 23 warrants each exercisable into one of company's bearer participation certificates at a price to be set Nov. 18.
umitomo Realty	\$100	1990	open	100	101	Corporation indicated at 50%. Noncallable. Each \$5,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares or an expected 25% premium. Terms to be set Nov. 19.

## Fixed-Coupon Issues Lack Luster

(Continued from Page 11)  
agents remain wedded to the callable bonds, the increase in the value of the warrant will be muted by the increase in the value of the callable bond.

This leads to a suspicion that scalpers who buy these warrants, hoping for a "fantastic capital gains increase if interest rates come, are confusing them with high-flying classic warrants at once were the vogue. Those agents simply required holders to put up cash to buy at a fixed-upon bond.

But the current wave of warrant issues, requiring in the early years at payment be effected through the surrender of the callable paper, is different. The warrant holder must either pay the premium to buy the callable bond or, if he already holds the bond, lose the premium at which it is trading by surrendering the paper at face value.

Not until later years, when these added warrants get divorced from the callable bond and can be exercised for cash, will these warrants become meaningful options.

So why is the current premium and for these warrants so high? No one can explain that. The answer may be that the market knows it; it's the price someone is willing to pay.

So who are these speculators? The experts agree that the big institutional investors are buyers of the warrants at the initial offering and then rather than takers at the time quoted in the secondary market. Still unanswered is this question: Who is paying the high premiums quoted in the secondary market to buy the paper, and why?

A variation on the wedged-open theme was introduced last week by Salomon Brothers, which had 150,000 of late-blooming warrants. These have a life of five years, but can be exercised only in the final two years to buy, at a price of 101%, the 9% percent Treasury notes maturing on Nov. 15, 1990. A Salomon spokesman said that the strict exercise period makes the warrant less valuable than an unexercised one and that it was structured to appeal to its clients who are willing to pay \$16 for each.

In the floating-rate market, the lull of new business has slowed and reduced demand. The temporary problem here is that the yield curve, which normally sets a steady progression upward from the short-maturity to the longer maturities, is now flat. The cost of money in one to six months is identical to the London interbank offered rate at 3.316 percent.

This means there is no profit for banks, the biggest takers of FRNs, to normally borrow one-month to buy paper priced at the one-year or six-month rate and pocket the difference. There may even be a lack of inversion, with one-month rates higher than the longer-dated rates.

That is because the U.S. government's rate of cash-management is putting upward pressure on the rate while the three- or four-month rates, reflecting the anticipated cut in the discount rate, are under pressure to decline.

The Deutsche mark floaters maturing in one year pre-exempt financing. It will pay 3% point over

paper for Malaysia — paying 10 basis points, or 0.10 percent, over the three-month interbank rate. This was deemed too big an issue for a developing country at too low a margin.

The tone in the fixed-rate market was weak, reflecting the continuing heavy supply of new issues and uncertainty about the exchange rate.

The only real bright spot in the nondollar sector remained the late this week.

## Refinancings Dominate International Market

By Carl Gewirtz  
*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — Refinancings, whereby borrowers prepay outstanding debt and replace it with lower-cost new debt, were the main feature of the international credit market last week.

Chrysler, which recently obtained a \$2.6-billion credit to pay for its purchase of FinanceAmerica,

Labor and front-end commissions of up to 40 basis points.

Hyundai Engineering & Construction of Korea raised \$100 million through the sale of 12-year floating-rate notes. But the pricing on this paper clearly reflected that it was a syndicated credit dressed up as a capital market transaction.

The margin, which starts at 4% point over Libor, rises every four years by 1/16 percent. Holders can request redemption at each four-year margin change.

Algeria's rural development bank, recently created to finance agriculture, is planning its first entry into the market and is seeking terms for a loan of up to \$500 million.

National & Provincial Building Society is raising £75 million through a seven-year transferable loan facility. It will pay 4% point over the domestic rate for three- or six-month sterling deposits and guarantees that this will never be lower than 5 percent.

An affiliate of the Bank of Scotland, Automobile Association Financial Services, is seeking £250 million for a lower-cost \$1-billion, three-year facility.

If Chrysler draws on the banks underwriting this facility, it will pay a margin of 15 basis points, or 0.15 percent, over the London interbank offered rate for up to half the amount and 30 basis points over Libor for more than that. By contrast, it paid 37.5 basis points over Libor for the original \$2.6-billion.

The annual underwriting fee on the transaction fluctuates between 10 and 15 basis points, depending on how Chrysler uses the facility. If it asks underwriters to tender bids for short-term Eurobonds, the lower fee will pertain. But if it does not use the facility or if it draws directly on the banks, it will pay a margin of 4% percent.

Sociedad Financiera de Desarrollo, by arranging a \$100-million, seven-year facility, of this \$60 million is earmarked as a revolving credit on which the privately owned auction house will pay a commitment fee of 3% percent on the amount that is not drawn and \$40 million is a term loan that will be drawn immediately. Sociedad's will pay 3% point over Libor on its

7.5 basis points.

Portugal is refinancing two seven-year loans totaling \$650 million taken out two years ago on which it was paying 4% point and 5% point over Libor. Interest on the new five-year loan is set at 5% point over Libor. Portugal is also paying a 4% percent renegotiation fee and front-end commissions ranging up to 7.5 basis points.

Italy's electricity agency ENEL, which had been paying 3% point over the prime rate or the adjusted rate for certificates of deposit, whichever was higher, has renegotiated the rate on the remaining \$247.5 million of its loan to 45 basis points over the adjusted CD rate.

Turkey's Ziraat Bankasi is tapping the syndicated loan market for a \$100-million, one-year pre-exempt financing. It will pay 3% point over

## EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

### T-Bonds Rise In Spite of Big Auction

By Steven J. Dryden  
*International Herald Tribune*

BRUSSELS — The executive Commission of the European Community is planning new antitrust guidelines to encourage joint ventures.

Peter Sutherland, the EC commissioner for competition policy, said last week that while restraints were still necessary, the Commission would take a pragmatic approach because joint ventures were important for the growth and global competitiveness of European businesses.

With the interbank overnight lending rates at 9 percent at the opening and the Treasury poised to auction \$2 billion of cash management

distribution, and the 15-percent threshold is not seen as a strict limit, Mr. Sutherland indicated.

### EC Envoy Returning To Turkey After Flap

Gwyn Morgan, the EC representative to Turkey, is to return to Ankara this week after a controversy over the unplanned publication of a private report he submitted criticizing the government's human rights record.

Mr. Morgan had sent the report, which contained the assessments of EC ambassadors in Ankara, to John Taylor, the European Parliament's adviser on human rights. It was delivered, evidently by mistake, to a European Parliament member from Northern Ireland who is also named John Taylor.

The parliamentarian, who in the past has criticized Mr. Morgan for harming EC-Turkish relations, gave the report to Turkish diplomats.

The contents ended up in the hands of the Turkish press, which accused Mr. Morgan of slandering the government. He left Ankara several weeks ago after the furor began.

Relations between the community and Turkey were already poor. The EC suspended financial assistance to Turkey after the military seized power in 1980.

In September, the EC unilaterally restricted imports of Turkish-made clothing after talks to limit the imports failed. The issue of Turkish immigration into the community is also sensitive, with West Germany pressing for continued controls.

### ECU Unknown to Many

In Europe, Survey Shows

Despite its increasing popularity among bankers and traders, the European currency unit is still relatively unknown to the general public, according to a recent survey.

A Gallup poll sponsored by three European banks found a total of 6,552 people in seven EC countries who are familiar with the ECU, which was created almost seven years ago.

In Belgium, France and Luxembourg, about 60 percent of those questioned knew of the ECU. In West Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, the rate was about 30 percent.

In Britain, which unlike the other nations polled does not participate in the European Monetary System,

only 10 percent of those asked had heard of the ECU.

Overall, 32 percent of those questioned were in favor of a European currency replacing national ones, while 38 percent were adamantly against the suggestion. The percentages against were highest in the Netherlands, West Germany and Britain.

Almost 60 percent of those polled were in favor of a European currency existing side-by-side with national currencies.

### Freeze on VAT Rates

Sought by Commission

The Commission has asked the Council of Ministers to approve a freeze on changes in value-added tax rates in member states.

The proposal, which is to be followed by efforts to harmonize tax rates, is considered a key part of the Commission's efforts to complete the creation of the EC's common market.

The uneven rates, which vary as much as 11 percent, are seen as creating barriers to trade inside the community.

In a related move, the Commission has also signaled its intentions regarding standards for the trade and marketing of foodstuffs.

The Commission plans to propose that community-wide rules be adopted guaranteeing health, safety and fair competition, but that otherwise there be no restraints.

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## China's Disappointing Oil Strikes

(Continued from Page 11)

important untapped source of petroleum in the world.

"Even the most conservative estimates are staggering," the weekly U.S. magazine Newsweek said in 1982. "Some Western oilmen and intelligence experts even equate Chinese reserves with those of the entire Middle East."

Now, oil company executives look back ruefully on those days of rosy expectations.

"Everyone was so optimistic at the outset, particularly the Chinese," said Murray C. Hudson, president of Esso China Ltd. "They thought all we had to do was sink one well and come up with major finds."

So far, Esso has drilled nine wells off the China coast and brought in "only one that has given us any encouragement," Mr. Hudson said.

As a result, he said, "we think any discoveries are likely to be



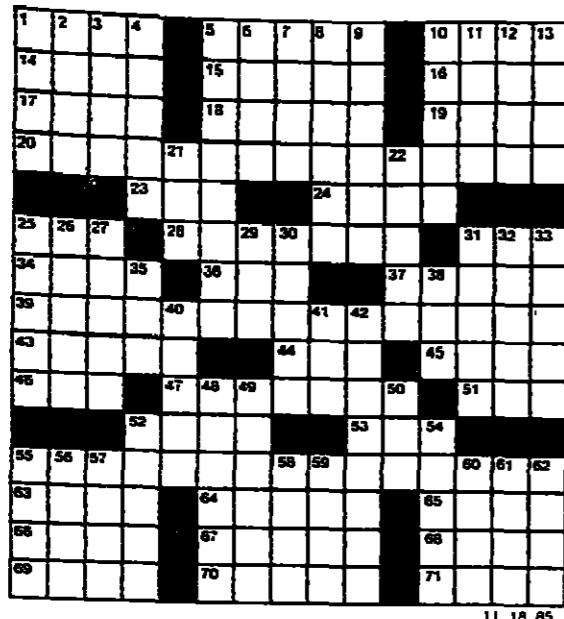




## American Exchange Options

Figures as of close of trading Friday.

Price	Calls	Puts	Option & price	Calls	Puts	Option & price	Calls	Puts
May	Dec		1990 220	7	16	1990 25	7	16
775	775		2100 220	7	16	2000 25	7	16
775	775		2150 220	7	16	2050 25	7	16
775	775		2200 220	7	16	2100 25	7	16
775	775		2250 220	7	16	2150 25	7	16
775	775		2300 220	7	16	2200 25	7	16
775	775		2350 220	7	16	2250 25	7	16
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775	775		2450 220	7	16	2350 25	7	16
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775	775		2600 220	7	16	2500 25	7	16
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775	775		2700 220	7	16	2600 25	7	16
775	775		2750 220	7	16	2650 25	7	16
775	775		2800 220	7	16	2700 25	7	16
775	775		2850 220	7	16	2750 25	7	16
775	775		2900 220	7	16	2800 25	7	16
775	775		2950 220	7	16	2850 25	7	16
775	775		3000 220	7	16	2900 25	7	16
775	775		3050 220	7	16	2950 25	7	16
775	775		3100 220	7	16	3000 25	7	16
775	775		3150 220	7	16	3050 25	7	16
775	775		3200 220	7	16	3100 25	7	16
775	775		3250 220	7	16	3150 25	7	16
775	775		3300 220	7	16	3200 25	7	16
775	775		3350 220	7	16	3250 25	7	16
775	775		3400 220	7	16	3300 25	7	16
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775	775		4350 220	7	16	4250 25	7	16
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775	775		4600 220	7	16	4500 25	7	16
775	775		4650 220	7	16	4550 25	7	16
775	775		4700 220	7	16	4600 25	7	16
775	775		4750 220	7	16	4650 25	7	16
775	775		4800 220	7	16	4700 25	7	16
775	775		4850 220	7	16	4750 25	7	16
775	775		4900 220	7	16	4800 25	7	16
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775	775		5000 220	7	16	4900 25	7	16
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775	775		5200 220	7	16	5100 25	7	16
775	775		5250 220	7	16	5150 25	7	16
775	775		5300 220	7	16	5200 25	7	16
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775	775		6000 220	7	16	5900 25	7	16
775	775		6050 220	7	16	5950 25	7	16
775	775		6100 220	7	16	6000 25	7	16
775	775		6150 220	7	16	6050 25	7	16
775	775		6200 220	7	16	6100 25	7	16
775	775		6250 220	7	16	6150 25	7	16
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775	775		6350 220	7	16	6250 25	7	16
775	775		6400 220	7	16	6300 25	7	16
775	775		6450 220	7	16	6350 25	7	16
775	775		6500 220	7	16	6400 25	7	16
775	775		6550 220	7	16	6450 25	7	16
775	775		6600 220	7	16	6500 25	7	16
775	775		6650 220	7	16	6550 25	7	16
775	775		6700 220	7	16	6600 25	7	16
775	775		6750 220	7	16	6650 25	7	16
775	775		6800 220	7	16	6700 25	7	16
775	775		6850 220	7	16	6750 25	7	16
775	775							



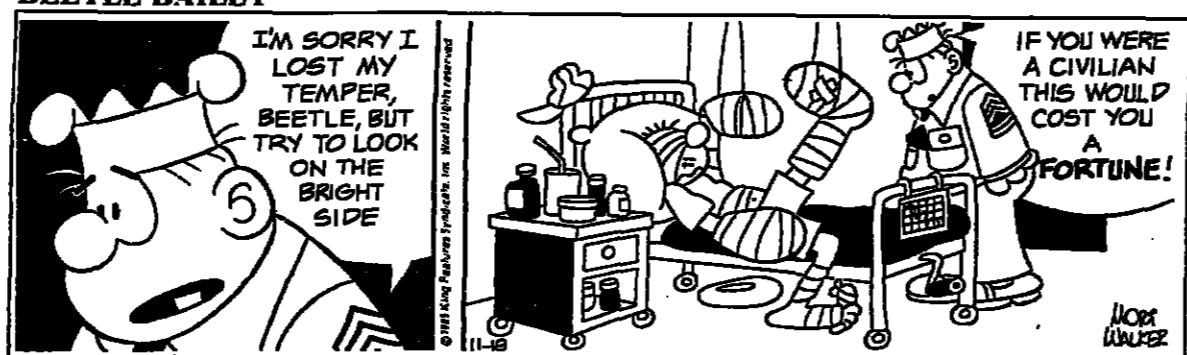
## PEANUTS



## BLONDIE



## BEETLE BAILEY



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 5 Lily's relative  
 10 Thick slice  
 14 Vow  
 15 Mountain  
 Ridge  
 16 Aurora  
 17 Extent  
 18 Erstwhile  
 Turkish V.I.P.  
 19 Assert  
 20 The little  
 troublemaker  
 22 Superlative  
 ending  
 24 British stool  
 pigeon  
 25 Flying  
 mammal  
 28 Bonanza State  
 31 Kind of pocket  
 34 Diva's song  
 36 Composer AIN  
 37 Nonsense  
 39 The hard-  
 working girl  
 43 Paris abducted  
 her  
 44 Crude metal  
 45 Simple  
 46 Overhead  
 trains  
 47 Nobelist in  
 Medicine: 1907  
 51 Occupied's  
 chair  
 52 "A" of Two  
 Cities  
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## DENNIS THE MENACE



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## JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

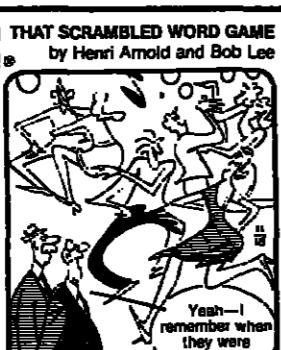
KEHRI

EXVIN

TOBUNT

RAZTUQ

ANSWER: THE



## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD



## SPORTS BRIEFS

## Norman Australian Open Victor by 2 Shots

MELBOURNE (AP) — Greg Norman, the U.S.-based Australian, scored a two-shot victory Sunday in the Australian Open golf tournament and became the fourth player to win both it and the Australian PGA in the same year.

Others to accomplish the rare double were Osse Pickworth, Norman Von Nida and Kel Nagle. Norman also won the 1980 open in Sydney.

He shot a final-round 74 for a 4-under-par 212 in a tournament shortened by rain to 54 holes. Another Australian, Ossie Moore, shot 75 and finished at 214. Anders Forsbrand of Sweden was third at 76/215, while the defending champion, Tom Watson of the United States, tied for sixth at 77/218.

## Spinks, Cooney Reach Accord on Fight

NEW YORK (AP) — Michael Spinks, the International Boxing Federation heavyweight champion, and Gerry Cooney have reached agreement for a fight set for March.

The contracts, a source said Saturday, are expected to be signed after the promoter Butch Lewis, the champion's adviser, returns from Europe next week. No date has been set for the fight, and five sites are being considered.

The IBF president, Robert Lee, has said that Spinks will be stripped of his crown if he fights an unranked opponent. Cooney is not ranked, and in August announced his retirement after having fought only twice since being stopped in the 13th round in a June 11, 1982, bid for Larry Holmes' World Boxing Council title.

## O'Meara Beats Pavin in Hawaii Golf Playoff

KAPALUA, Hawaii (UPI) — Mark O'Meara sank a 12-foot (3.6-meter) birdie putt on the third extra hole Saturday to defeat Corey Pavin and win the Kapalua International golf tournament.

O'Meara and Pavin, who was celebrating his 26th birthday, each finished 72 holes at 13-under-par 275. Each parred the first two extra holes — the par-4, 397-yard 16th and the par-3, 178-yard 17th — before O'Meara won the playoff on the par-5, 557-yard 18th.

Nick Faldo, who eagled No. 18 on Friday to tie Pavin for the lead, a stroke ahead of O'Meara and Masters champion Bernhard Langer, made three consecutive bogeys on Saturday's front nine and finished third with a 71/277. Langer (71/278) was fourth.

## McGuigan to Defend Against Sosa Feb. 15

BELFAST (AP) — Barry McGuigan, the World Boxing Association featherweight champion, will make the second defense of his title Feb. 15 against Fernando Sosa, the South American champion from Argentina, in either Belfast or Dublin.

Sosa was selected by ABC, the U.S. network which is to televise the fight, after it was given a choice of five opponents by Barney Eastwood, McGuigan's manager. Sosa, who is 43-3-3, is ranked fourth by the WBA and third by the World Boxing Council.

## Quotable

• Jim Devellano, general manager of the Detroit Red Wings, on the National Hockey League's perennially weak Norris Division: "It's like puppy love. No one takes it seriously, but it's real for the puppies." (NYT)

## BOOKS

CUTTING EDGES:  
Making Sense of the Eighties

By Charles Krauthammer. 221 pages. \$17.95. Random House, 201 East 50th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022.

Reviewed by John Gross

**I**T is to live in present-day America, now that harvests have declined as precipitous as food rationing has been introduced and "steak has become a memory." It must be even sadder to live in "starvation-wrecked Japan." Or rather it would be sad, if these particular prophecies of doom had been fulfilled. They were made by Paul Ehrlich in his 1968 book "The Population Bomb"; they are cited by Charles Krauthammer in "Cutting Edges" in a passage that exemplifies one of Krauthammer's great strengths as a controversialist: his ability to seize on the giveway quotation or the revealing chink in his opponent's armor.

This is only one of the skills that have made him someone to look out for ever since he began publishing essays and columns in the late 1970s — initially in *The New Republic* (which is where most of the pieces reprinted in "Cutting Edges" first appeared), but later in *Time* magazine and *The Washington Post*.

He is equally adept at summoning up a happy (and unshaken) quotation to reinforce his position, as when he calls in the 19th-century Irish radical who denounced negative revolutionaries — revolutionaries unwilling to describe the society they proposed to construct — as "more speculators in anarchy." He is a master of the crisp and compact formulation. And he knows how to get the most out of a comic analogy. Phil Donahue's television show, with its procession of deviants and odd men out, reminds him of P. T. Barnum — except that "in the old days, one merely gawked at these unfortunates, Donahue's goal is to get them to talk."

Satisfying though his gifts are, Krauthammer would not be the serious commentator he is if he did not put his talents at the service of a fairly consistent view of the world. Politically, he tells us, he belongs to the Democratic tradition "whose pedigree stretches from Harry Truman through Harry Jackson" — and if nowadays that makes him something of a displaced person, in his political essays he re-

mains faithful to a philosophy that favors tough foreign policies and strict law and order.

A spokesman for the Militant Muslims, Krauthammer delivers a jab at Patrick Buchanan and takes a smack at Jesse Jackson that is reminiscent of the way the two left-wing Democrats whether they are on the left or right. Democrats who want to achieve internationalism in its ends without willing the means, as in the go-it-alone right. But though he is a good worth listening to, he is at the same time writes not so much about "hard" politics as about political culture — attitudes, assumptions — and, beyond that, in the contemporary social climate to general

In the introduction to "Cutting Edges" he offers an interesting brief account of how he came to arrive at his standpoint. A socialist student, struggling with a thesis on the transition between John Stuart Mill's politics and his own aesthetics, he became mesmerized by a friend who was studying medicine. They seemed to offer a certainty that was "not found in the universe of politics," something that attracted him as much that he switched to medicine and eventually became a psychiatrist. But though he found many satisfactions in medicine, one thing he did not find was certainty. On the contrary, his experience as a doctor taught him that there is no getting away from ambiguity.

Ambiguity, as he says, is one of the recurrent themes of his essays. Another, related to the effort to see things as they are, in all their unfitness. He argues repeatedly against oversimplification, the blurring of distinction: between courage and survival, for instance, and the glib or evasive assumption of "moral equivalence" where different values exist — it can be seen at its simplest in Dr. Seuss's parable "The Butter Battle Book," in which the world is endangered by a confrontation between the Yooks who like their bread butter-side up and the Zooks who like their bread butter-side down.

He is equally on his guard against the misuse of language. His objection to critics who at the time of Grenada kept complaining that the United States had forfeited "the moral high ground" is not merely that they were talking in circles but that the cliché in question was an insidious one. A military metaphor, it carried yet one more suggestion of false equivalence (win a battle, lose a battle).

Several essays — they are among the best in the book — gain in authority from Krauthammer's experience as a doctor, though he does not refer to it directly. There is a fine discussion of the true issue at stake in the Baby Face heart-transplant case (the clash between "the therapeutic imperative" and "the experimental imperative"), and an essay on homelessness that delicately and humanely makes the point that the plight of the homeless in the United States is to a large extent the plight of people who have been released from hospitals in the name of a liberty they are unable to enjoy.

For all his vigilance, even Krauthammer occasionally succumbs to the columnist's occupational disease and simplifies things for the sake of a debating point. But in general the standard of these pieces is exceptionally high, they were well worth collecting, and they remain as stimulating as they were when they first appeared.

John Gross is on the staff of *The New York Times*.

## Solution to Friday's Puzzle

BLAIN	RAH	REHAB
EARTO	ABA	AVOLA
GREENWICH	PERIL	AGA
AGA	CAD	ASTROKE
TOR	TOISE	BUTLER
EMS	STEREO	EM
ARMA	TACO	EDGES
LYE	SLASH	ELI
PATCH	APSO	ORYX
ROOKIE	NSW	AROU
CANNING	ESOTERIC	QUINA
EMOTE	HOURGLASS	EMOTE
RIMER	ERA	MOTET
BEERY	EBB	AGATE

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

**O**N the diagramed deal, therefore, his partner held strength in spades and hearts and made a brilliant decision by passing four no-trump.

The response of two clubs was "inverted," and therefore forcing. North was expecting to reach six or seven clubs, but had to change his mind. His jump to four spades at his next turn was a form of Blackwood, by partnership agreement, asking for key cards outside the spade suit.

The negative response of

four no-trump made it clear that both aces in the red suits were missing.

North knew therefore that his partner held strength in spades and hearts and made a brilliant decision by passing four no-trump.

This was not a contract that would ordinarily suggest itself with the North hand after South has opened one club, but it was absolutely right.

South won the opening spade lead and led a low heart to the jack and ace. Sooner or later East could make the diamond ace, but the declarer had 11 tricks.

North  
 ♠ K 8 5 3  
 ♡ A 7 6 4 2  
 ♢ 10 9 8 7 6 5  
 ♣ 10 9 8 7 6 5  
 West and West were vulnerable.  
 The bidding:  
 East South West North  
 1 D 1 H 1 S 1 C  
 1 C 1 S 1 D 1 C  
 1 C 1 C 1 C 1 C  
 West led the spade queen.

## Pacers Snap Celtics' Winning Streak at 8



Detroit's Bill Laimbeer clamped Scott Hastings in a headlock as they battled for a loose ball during a National Basketball Association game Friday in Atlanta. Laimbeer had 16 points and 14 rebounds, but the Hawks won, 122-118.

## WEATHER

## EUROPE

## ASIA

## AFRICA

## LATIN AMERICA

## NORTH AMERICA

## MIDDLE EAST

## OCEANIA

## MONDAY'S FORECAST

## CHANNELS

## MOSCOW

## TOKYO

## KOREA

## CHINA

## HONG KONG

## SEUL

## TOKYO

## SINGAPORE

## SYDNEY

## MELBOURNE

## AUCKLAND

## SPRINGFIELD

## SYDNEY

## MELBOURNE

## AUCKLAND

## SPORTS

The Associated Press  
picking off a third-period pass, Penn State defensive back Ray Isom was splashed down by Notre Dame's Tim Brown.**Years Win Division by Annihilating Dallas**

**The Associated Press**  
DALLAS — The unbeaten Cowboys won the National Conference Central Division title record 44-0 rout of the Dallas Cowboys since Sunday.

ago's 11th straight National

II League victory was its

er the Cowboys since 1971

**NFL ROUNDUP**

as the worst trouncing in

in 26-year history. It was the

ne the Cowboys had been

it since the Cowboys did it, 38-0.

nsive end Richard Dent

his first professional touch-

by intercepting a Dally

pass and stepping into the

the 1-yard line in the

end. The Bears switched

to 10-0 on Kevin Butler's

field goal.

ago's tough defense twice

replaced Gary Hoge-

us as rudely. Linebacker

Ilson knocked White cold

in the second quarter,

urned in the third period

again knocked out by Wil-

ford for the day with a

a neck.

Hogboom, pressured into an ill-advised throw by Wilson's second-quarter blitz, hit Chicago corner-back Mike Richardson in full stride and he ran 36 yards untouched for a score. Leslie Frazier's 33-yard intercep-tion return to the Dallas 43 set up a five-play scoring drive capped by quarterback Steve Fuller's 1-yard run, giving Chicago a 24-0 halftime lead.

The Bears broke out some exotic plays in the second half, including Walter Payton's 33-yard halfback pass to tight end Tim Wrightman, which positioned Chicago Butler for a career-best 46-yard field goal. Butler also had a 22-yarder in the fourth period after a 35-yard Payton run.

Payton gained 131 yards on 22 carries, and his 34-yard, fourth-quarter dash set up Calvin Thomas' 16-yard scoring run. Dennis Gentry's 16-yard touchdown run with 2:38 to play insured the Cowboys' worst defeat since Minnesota mauled them 54-13 in 1970.

Chicago rookie William Perry, a 305-pound (138.4-kilogram) defensive lineman who is used on short-yardage offense, carried once for a yard. He also drew a 10-yard penalty for illegal use of hands when he

picked up Payton and carried him for a yard in the third period.

Falcons 36, Rams 14: In Atlanta, Gerald Riggs ran for 123 yards and three touchdowns as the Falcons downed the lethargic, mistake-prone Los Angeles Rams. Atlanta converted two of the Rams' five turnovers into 10 points within a 65-second span of the opening quarter, and built a 23-0 lead after three periods.

Browns 17, Bills 7: In Cleveland, rookie quarterback Bernie Kosar hit Ozzie Newsome on an 11-yard TD pass play with 2:11 to play and Earnest Byner rushed for 109 yards and a score as the Browns beat Buffalo to break a four-game losing streak.

Steelers 30, Oilers 7: In Houston, Gary Anderson kicked field goals of 32, 31 and 34 yards, extending his string to 10 in a row, and Frank Pollard and David Woodley each rushed for more than 100 yards and a touchdown to lead Pittsburgh's rout of the Oilers.

Green Bay 38, New Orleans 14: In Milwaukee, quarterback Lynn Dickey tossed two second-quarter touchdowns, one to Phillip Epps (whose 46-yard punt return set up another score), as Green Bay

romped over sluggish New Orleans.

Dolphins 34, Colts 20: In Indianapolis, Dan Marino passed for 320 yards and rookies Lorenzo Hampton and Ron Davenport scored two touchdowns apiece as Miami beat the Colts.

The Irish (5-4), who did not score until 33 seconds remained, saw the end of a four-game winning streak that had given them a chance to be considered for a bowl game and had led to speculation that Faust might be back as coach.

For Faust, who has two games to go in the final year of a five-year contract, there was an additional injury — Penn State was led by a product of the program he built at Moeller High School in Cincinnati. John Shaffer, the quarterback who has won all 53 games he has started since eighth grade, completed 7 of 16 passes for 126 yards.

The resourcefulness that had allowed the Nittany Lions to make all their narrow escapes this season remained an important factor. Twice during the shockingly one-sided first half they used Notre Dame turnovers to improve their lead to 23-0.

When Joe Paterno, the Penn State coach, ran off the muddy field at halftime, punching his right fist into the air, many of the estimated 40,000 spectators in the stadium were heading for exits.

Faust was not so fortunate. The two most

important parts of his team's offense had been taken away. Allen Pinkett, the senior tailback

... 131 yards on 22 carries.

**Walter Payton**

**Vanlandingham Wins D.C. International in Upset**

**By Andrew Beyer**  
**Washington Post Service**

— REL, Maryland — Train-

ers grumble when owners

and tell them what to do

or worse. When owner John Ed

y told Shug McGaughy he

wanted to enter Vanland-

ingham in the Washington, D.C.

McGaughy wasn't

slimed by the idea.

all, Vanlandingham never

ed on the grass, he never

anything like the mushy

rise at Laurel Race Course,

it breed to a grass runner,

opposed." McGaughy said.

Vanlandingham made his

look pretty smart Saturday,

all the way to score an op-

er in the 34th International.

fully guided by jockey Don

the finished one length

of Yashgan, with Jupiter Is-

ingham his.

Strawberry Road II, the favorite,

in generally considered the

Yashgan had kind of speed,"

McGaughy said. "I figured he

could control the race somewhat."

That is exactly what happened.

None of Vanlandingham's rivals

had any intention of challenging him early. On a turf course that had been saturated by daylight rain, all the jockeys wanted to conserve their mounts' energy.

Moments after the gate opened,

Vanlandingham found himself

three lengths ahead of the field.

Richard Migliore, aboard Win,

was content to sit just behind him. An-

gel Cordero Jr. was keeping Straw-

berry Road II toward the back of the 10-horse pack.

Vanlandingham loped the first quarter of a mile in 26 seconds, the half in 51-1/5 and three-quarters in 1:17-1/5, and nobody behind him made a move to challenge him.

"When I went by the board and saw the 51, I was pretty happy," MacBeth said.

Second-guessers might criticize the other jockeys for permitting MacBeth to "steal" the race, but since nobody had raced over the Laurel turf course in a week, nobody could know what would constitute a normal pace. Given the condition of the grass, the fractions were not abnormally slow.

On the turn, Strawberry Road II tried to make a move, but never launched a real challenge. He was probably enervated after a succession of trans-Atlantic trips. Win weakened on the turn, too. He has never fared well on this kind of turf, and trainer Sally Ballie had agonized all afternoon before deciding not to scratch him.

Yashgan just kept plodding along behind the leader, running the same type of even-paced race as

Vanlandingham. "He got to that horse's flank, but that's all he could get," said jockey McCarron.

Yashgan never threatened the winner, but managed to hold off the late run of the English filly Jupiter Island to save second place by a nose.

Vanlandingham covered the mile and a half in 2:35, 35, and paid \$16.20 to his backers in the crowd of 19,806.

Vanlandingham always had been highly regarded as a 3-year-old, but he was knocked out of action after hurting himself in the Kentucky Derby. McGaughy brought him back in peak form after a year's layoff, and he was considered a strong contender for the horse-of-the-year title when he went into the Breeders' Cup Classic at Aqueduct two weeks ago.

Challenged for the early lead, he tired badly, finished next to last and lost considerable prestige. On Saturday he regained a lot of it, and

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# A Salsa Star Crosses Over — Into International Law

By Victoria Pope

AMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — At the Mug 'n' Muffin restaurant, Rubén Blades is ordering beans the only way they come in Harvard Square: baked, with brown bread — a far cry from *fríjoles* in his native Panama. He is quick to tell the waitress, "Do me a favor, hold the brown bread."

It is typical of the salsa star to try to cobble together a Hispanic breakfast in a Yankee coffee shop. He is unmistakably Latin, yet determined to live outside the usual confines of salsa musicians, who make their reputations in the barrios and stay there. At the Mug 'n' Muffin, Blades, 37, was taking a break from writing his master's thesis for a degree in international law at Harvard Law School. He graduated in June.

His music takes sales' Afro-Cuban sound and adds riffs and chords reminiscent of rock 'n' roll. Blades is perhaps most exceptional, however, for his powerful lyrics. His songs can both pack a dance floor and carry a political message about Latin America.

As a star of "Crossover Dreams," a film about the salsa circuit, he proved himself an actor of natural talent. The film opened in New York in August to excellent reviews that singled out Blades' performance for praise. Vincent Canby of The New York Times called him an actor "whose presence and intelligence register without apparent effort."

Blades plays Rudy, Veloz, a singer of salsa. Rudy signs a contract to record an album in English, a bit of luck that he thinks will bring him crossover from the glitz dance halls of Spanish Harlem to mainstream popularity. He celebrates his big break by buying a yellow convertible and taking his girl to Coney Island — two of the film's many signposts of the American dream as seen from the barrio.

Blades left Panama more than a decade ago to play in New York. But instead of reflecting the world from Spanish Harlem, his viewpoint is Latin American, and his lyrics observe life and politics

and their often brutal mingling in Central and South America.

In his songs, a woman looks for her husband, one of the "vanished ones" of Latin America ... a priest and altar boy are murdered ... a secret policeman recounts his dull morning before leaving for work.

Such powerful subject matter is provocative by the standards of salsa, which often invites escape into dance. Blades says he does not want to use his music as an opiate, but rather to confront issues.

This sense of advocacy and seriousness of purpose has provoked criticism from Latin who portray him as a publicist for leftist Latin American causes. That reputation has spawned many detractors, especially in the Cuban émigré community of Miami.

Blades said: "I am not so foolish as to want to run before I can walk."

Childhood friends in Panama say he was always eager to make a mark. His energetic family may have first set the pace. His father was a Panamanian basketball champion who joined the secret police when it was recruiting athletes for its basketball team. His mother was an actress on radio soap operas and television variety shows. At night, his parents played music — his father on the bongos, his mother singing and playing the piano. Blades credits his paternal grandmother, Emma, with widening his horizons the most. She was a playwright, poet, spiritualist and vegetarian, and it was she who taught him to read.

Upon graduating from Panama University with an undergraduate degree in jurisprudence, Blades was offered a plum job as a legal advisor in Panama's embassy in Washington. He turned it down to play the marimbas with salsa groups in New York for 11 years, he has kept close links to Panama.

When his song "Decisions" (Decisions) was banned from the airwaves not long ago in Panama, the outcry was quick and insistent. "Decisions" was interpreted as pro-abortion in some quarters because it describes a daydreaming girl in geography class worrying that she is pregnant. A cabinet minister resigned in protest of the ban, and within weeks the song was back on the charts of salsa.

He is critical of U.S. policy in Nicaragua, but also said: "When I write about the colonialization of Latin America, it can as surely be a finger pointed at the Soviet Union as at the United States. However, historically, it's been the

United States that has been involved in our countries.

"But terrorism is terrorism, and it's always unacceptable. I write about freedom and the need to avoid dictators."

His interest in politics is not confined to songwriting. Many onlookers on Blades say he wants to be president of Panama. That, he said, is an exaggeration; what he wants is to create a new political party. The presidency is a vague aspiration, far down the road. "I am not so foolish as to want to run before I can walk."

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Rubén Blades: "The need to avoid dictators."

placed Panamanians, recalling the event, view it as an ill-conceived effort to annoy the singer, and a clumsy effort to protect the morals of Panamanian youth.

What Blades writes and says has great clout with his audiences. He is not unlike Bruce Springsteen in personal style and influence on his fans.

In a Boston concert recently he wore minimalist black, his pants slightly too short, his boots scuffed. Much like a beat poet or *chansonnier*, he spoke seriously and frequently between songs.

His concerts have drawn notice, especially *now-Latin* in recent months. He and his band, "Seis de Solar" — which translates as "Six from the Vacant Lot" — were the first Latin act to play the Rockpalast in Essen, West Germany, in a concert aimed to Western and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In another rite of passage, he played Carnegie Hall in October.

Blades has a box of letters from fans in Latin America. He says he cannot throw them out because the writers entrusted to him private thoughts and aspirations. His Latin fans often look up to him as one of their own who has made it to the top. A taxi driver, hanging around the entrance to a

Manhattan club to find out how Blades' performance there went, said: "I like the fact he's an educated man. Did you know he's a lawyer?"

In a bid to attract a wider audience, the lyrics to his last two albums were translated into English. He speaks of a record in English in the near future. His newest album is in a personal rather than political vein, he said; it may be a sign of his desire to broaden his musical arena that he cut one song on that album with Linda Ronstadt.

He is also working on a cycle of songs set to short stories by Gabriel García Márquez. The Mexican author called Blades the "most popular unknown I have ever known," a quip that Blades found right on the mark.

With "Crossover Dreams" that description is almost obsolete. But even with greater exposure and popularity, Blades says success in the U.S. mainstream would not mean leaving his Latin audience behind. "Why would I do that? The subject of my music would only be defeated."

Victoria Pope is a Boston-based journalist who has covered news and cultural events in Europe and the United States.

## LANGUAGE

### Summit: Don't Expect a 'Perelom'

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — "Definitions are critical," an unidentified spokesman told a diplomatic reporter last week. "If we can come to some broad agreement on terms and if the Soviets are convinced that Reagan is both serious and flexible, then it might be possible for the negotiators at Geneva to work out a specific agreement after the summit." That, concluded this skilled practitioner of summitspeak, would be a real breakthrough.

Ever since Winston Churchill called for a "parley at the summit" in 1950, face-to-face diplomacy at the highest level has been called *summits*. For an explanation of the terms and phrases to be brought into play at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, I have turned to a spokesman almost legendary in his ability to leave no footprints: V. Cimbros Array.

"You are correct," confirms Mr. Array, "in referring to this as the *Reagan-Gorbachev summit*. It is not, repeat not, the *Geneva summit*, as some press agents for the Swiss Chamber of Commerce would have you believe. The Swiss get 'the Geneva sums talks' and that's all. I should add that my Soviet counterpart refers to this meeting as the *Gorbachev-Reagan summit*. We have agreed to disagree on the billing, but agree on the hyphenation."

"Is that a breakthrough?"

"No. It is evidence of progress, showing a certain mutual flexibility, a sort of the ongoing process. Hard bargaining lies ahead."

Is such billing a good idea?

"We do not use the word *idea* at summits, except in the denunciation, *no new ideas*. What you call an idea privately presented is a *walk in the woods*, and when bruited about, it is labeled a *proposal*, which when written becomes a *formal proposal*, requiring a *counter-proposal*. Two formal proposals are an *initiative*. The only adjective permitted for *initiative* is *bold*."

V. Cimbros expects a run on terms about the steps necessary to create a space defense. Four stages exist between the time an idea forms in the mind of a president and a space shield makes its appearance, blinking and peeping in the sky.

First comes *research* — in Russian, *issledovaniye*; no unity context by London's Daily Express in 1918; the closest Russian equivalent is *perelom* — what can summits achieve? Here we have the product of Local 37 of the Conceptual Frame-workers International Union. Its members can turn out anything from a framework for future discussion to a statement of *convening* principles; short of that, if the corners of the frame don't meet, a *memorandum of agreement* may be signed; or if the conference fails apart completely, a *memorandum of understanding*, which need no signature, may be put forward as a fig leaf.

V. Cimbros has stepped me, on a will-be-deleted basis, this handy rundown of his true meaning if the character of the talks. If Mike and Ron start throwing shoes across the room, and if the Kremlin strategic forces go on red-white-and-blue alert, the discussion will be described as *frank and坦率*.

However, if they merely bicker at one another, but to some good end, the spokesman's phrase will be *analytic and productive*. If the talks go well, we will hear *revisions and productive*. If they really go well, beyond expectations, the talks will rate the summitspeak accolade, *imperative exchange*.

Now hold on to your hats. If that escalates to *important and fruitful exchange* — beyond serious, beyond productive, with those well-nurtured seeds yielding real fruit — then we will have ourselves a regular *perelom*, a breakthrough.

If that happens, and the hellas peal around the world while investors dump swords and plunge into plowshares, what will be the *hosanna* from V. Cimbros Array?

"Hard bargaining lies ahead."

New York Times Service

MOVING	PERSONALS
ALLIED	HAVE A NICE DAY! BOXEL. Have a nice day! Boxel.
VAN LINES INT'L	OVER 1300 OFFICES WORLDWIDE
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